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ISBN 0-315-55463-0

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

BEING OR NOTHINGNESS:
REALIZING A SELF IN PEDOPHILIA -
A GROUNDED THEORY STUDY

BY

VIRGINIA VAN SANTEN (C)

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND

RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EMONTON, ALBERTA

(FALL 1989)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

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DEGREE: DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1989

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(Student's signature)

11442 - 77 Avenue

Edmonton, Alberta, T6G 0L8

(Student's permanent address)

Date: Oct 12/89

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Being or Nothingness: Realizing a Self in Pedophilia - A Grounded Theory Study, submitted by Virginia van Santen in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Counselling Psychology.

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Supervisor

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Date: August 3, 1989.

ABSTRACT

Pedophilia has become increasingly prominent as a social problem, and has accordingly received increased attention from researchers. Because findings are contradictory and inconclusive, some researchers have cautioned against the possibility of arriving at a unitary theory of pedophilia, and have instead urged the refinement of typologies of these offenders, with a separate theory to fit each type. The present study is based on the grounded theory method, a discovery model of research, which has as its goal the generation of theory. The method looks for processes, and specifically for a basic social process that serves to account for all or most of the variation observed in the individuals under study. The basic social process uncovered was Realizing a Self, a process whereby the pedophile resolves his basic problem of a lack of a sense of self. This process consists of four stages, originating in childhood and culminating in a sexual preference for children. These stages are (a) Being an Outsider, (b) Attaching, (c) Realizing a Self, and (d) Maintaining a Self. During Stage One, the pedophile-to-be experiences constraints in his development that leave him with psychological deficits. He is an Outsider who desperately wants to belong. To

fill his deficits he attempts to attach himself to a family in Stage Two. Failure at this attempt brings him to the third stage, Realizing a Self, wherein he changes the context of his relationships. By associating with a child instead of an adult, he can become a man in relation to the child; for the person who is a pedophile, self-definition is always supplied by the environment. Although succeeding in becoming a man, he fails at getting the acceptance that he also wants. This failure leads to stage Four, in which he attempts to maintain the sense-of-self that was acquired in the third stage by once again changing the relational context through which he gains self-definition. By now relating himself to the concept of sex, instead of the child, he can thus maintain a sense of self.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The struggles of doing research, particularly with an unfamiliar method, may lead to periodic feelings of total inadequacy and loss of self-esteem. When these moments came, as was predicted by Glaser (1978), being a member of a study group brought a return of reality. This group of fellow students were all using the grounded theory method, and we struggled through the sometimes vague concepts together towards understanding. I owe thanks for support and validation to Robin Mott and Kate Leonard. I wish to give particular thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Paul Sartoris, for having enough faith in me to undertake the supervision of a study unfamiliar to him in both subject and method.

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1. Introduction

Pedophilia is a sexual attraction to children and is experienced mainly by men. Although the pedophile is thought of in the public mind as `the dirty old man' in the raincoat lurking in the park, he may actually be `the pillar of the community', the parish priest or the victim's father. To be a pedophile is to be socially unacceptable. Further, as I have discovered, to work with pedophiles in a therapeutic setting, or to conduct research on pedophilia, is also socially unacceptable. Yet the work of two men, who according to Money (1986) were pedophiles, has been in the public favor for several generations of children and adults, in the form of Alice in Wonderland and Peter Pan.

Although pedophilia has become an increasing problem for society (Powell, 1988) and despite the large number of research studies conducted during the last ten years, psychologists and psychiatrists do not have a clearer understanding of this enigma. Because there is no clear picture of the etiology, development, or dynamics involved, it is not surprising that the treatment of pedophiles is notoriously difficult. Existing treatment programs reflect a variety of theoretical orientations--psychodynamic, behavioral,

cognitive, and biomedical--and incorporate a wide range of educational and training components. The effectiveness of treatment programs has not been demonstrated, nor do therapists know which elements of their therapies contribute to success or failure.

My own interest in pedophilia originates from working in a hospital-based treatment center for sex offenders as well as from conducting a therapy program for adolescent offenders. The hospital program uses a group approach as the main medium for therapy, with selected individuals receiving individual therapy, depending on their needs. While in treatment, pedophiles may become proficient in group skills, and practice appropriate assertiveness techniques while in the group session. But once the group is over, the pedophile frequently reverts to his previous behaviors in relating to his peers and staff, and these behaviors do not fall into one discernible pattern. The question remains: Is he simply learning good group skills or is he changing? What happens when he is discharged, if the changes in behavior do not extend beyond the group setting even while in the hospital?

In working with adolescent offenders, one does not call them pedophiles, since they are still in a developmental state. Therapists working with these

children, some as young as ten and eleven, need to know which elements account for the development of a pedophile in order to prevent that event from happening. In order to be accountable for the therapeutic work that is done, with both adults and adolescents, the therapist needs to know more about pedophilia.

Because the aim of this research was to generate a theory of pedophilia and to identify the processes involved in its development, the grounded theory method was chosen. At the heart of this method is the search for processes, especially a basic social process (BSP) that accounts for problematic behavior and its variations. The basic social process discovered in this study was Realizing a Self, which explains how pedophilic behavior resolves the pedophile's basic problem--the lack of a sense of self. This process occurs in four stages: (a) Being an Outsider; (b) Attaching; (c) Realizing a Self; and (d) Maintaining a Self.

Chapter two reviews the literature and describes the existing state of knowledge at the beginning of this project, summarizes the existing theories, provides some of the contradictory findings, and concludes that pedophilia remains an enigma, despite concentrated research efforts. Chapter three describes the grounded

theory method in general and its implementation in this study. An overview of the stage theory of pedophilia that resulted from this study is presented in chapter four. In chapters five through eight, the stages--and their associated conditions, strategies, contexts, and consequences--are explained in detail. Chapter nine begins with a discussion of the theory and its relationship to the relevant literature, and concludes by integrating some of the empirical findings into the theoretical framework.

2. Review of the Literature

This review of the literature differs from the standard approach in that it is not intended to be a complete review, nor is it intended to present a critical evaluation. In following the grounded theory method, what is presented here is an overview of the literature on pedophilia demonstrating the general inconclusive nature of the subject at the start of this research project. Specific studies will be reviewed in detail following the presentation of the body of this report. At that time findings will be evaluated within the context of the presented theory of pedophilia.

What is pedophilia? Why are some men sexually aroused by children? Who becomes a pedophile? When is pedophilia a response to situational stressors, and when is it a pattern of behavior seen from early adolescence? Why is it that, despite pedophilia's having its place on a branch of the DSM III decision tree, the MMPI cannot distinguish pedophiles from other men? And why are pedophiles mainly men, and not women? These questions provoke contradictory answers.

Definitions

Pedophilia means love of children. Langevin (1983) defines the pedophile as one who has a greater erotic

reactivity to children and youths than to adults, as measured by the phallometric test of erotic preference. As defined according to the diagnostic criteria of DSM III (American Psychiatric Association, 1980), pedophilia is:

> . . . the act or fantasy of engaging in sexual activity with prepubertal children as a repeatedly preferred or exclusive method of achieving sexual excitement. The difference in age between the adult with this disorder and the prepubertal child is arbitrarily set at ten years or more. For late adolescents with this disorder, no precise age difference is specified; and clinical judgments must be used, the sexual maturity of the child as well as the age difference being taken into account.

Berlin (1983) defines sexual deviation syndromes (paraphilias), which includes pedophilia, as "diagnosable psychiatric conditions manifested by (1) recurrent deviant fantasies, (2) intense erotic cravings, and (3) relatively stereotyped behaviors as a response to those cravings" (p. 117). Simply put, the pedophile is someone who has a sexual preference (shows greater sexual response on phallometric testing) for a child rather than an adult.

Typologies

Because findings are contradictory and inconclusive, researchers have subdivided pedophiles in an attempt to find patterns. Groth (Groth, 1978; Groth & Birnbaum, 1978) divides pedophiles into two

categories, the fixated pedophile and the regressed pedophile. The fixated pedophile suffers from "a temporary or permanent arrestment of psychosocial maturation" (Groth, 1978, p. 6) as a result of unresolved developmental issues. The regressed pedophile, on the other hand, displays a "temporary or permanent appearance of primitive behavior after more mature forms of expression have been attained" (Groth, 1978, p. 8) as a response to situational stresses. Howells (1981) prefers to classify pedophiles according to situational versus sexual preference mediated incidents, since "it remains to be demonstrated that this form of behavior constitutes a regression to a developmentally more primitive form of sexual expression" (p. 77). Mohr (Mohr, 1981; Mohr, Turner, and Jerry, 1964) describes three types of pedophiles based on the age of initial offense: an adolescent group, a middle-aged group, and an old group.

Pedophiles are further typed according to sexual preferences (heterosexual, homosexual, and bisexual), to age preferences (very young, prepubescent, pubescent), and recently, to the presence or not of violence (Finkelhor, 1979; Groth, 1978; Lang, Black, Frenzel, & Checkley, 1988). Here Groth (1978) distinguishes between sex-pressure and sex-force contacts, the latter

involving the use of aggressive methods to coerce the child. Knight, Carter and Prentky (1989) report on the use of another typology, the Massachusetts Treatment Center: Child Molester Typology, version 3 (MTC:CM3). It differentiates molesters first by degree of fixation (high or low) and then by amount of contact (high or low). Subtypes are defined by level of social competence, the meaning of the contact to the offender (interpersonal or narcissistic), and amount of injury (sadistic or nonsadistic).

Dynamics of pedophilia

According to psychoanalytic theory:

> Fixation results from castration anxiety. Every normal boy wishes to possess mother and replace father but is afraid to do so lest he be castrated. He therefore develops an aversion to mother as the incest taboo. However the pedophile's anxiety is so general that he fears to possess any mature female since they all symbolize mother. So he settles for an immature female as his own instead. (Langevin, 1983, p. 264)

Bell and Hall (1976), Fraser (1976), Stoller (1975), and Storr (1964) share this view. Psychoanalysts trace pedophilia to the mother-child relationship. If this relationship is too close, the child grows up with an idealized image of his mother and also of himself as a child, leading to possible pedophilia in later life. In contrast to the over-protective mother as a causal factor is the possibility, found by Langevin (1983) in

the literature, that it is perhaps a lack of mother identification which promotes pedophilia, or the finding of Knopp (1982) that a cold and distant father is a contributing causal factor. In my view, the psychoanalytic approach has not been successful in either understanding pedophilia or in generating specific treatment strategies.

Some suggest that pedophilia is a problem of power rather than of sex. Pedophiles tend to view people in terms of submission and dominance, with adult women being seen as dominant; therefore, the attraction of children is their submissiveness (Howells, 1979). Sgroi (1982) also considers child sexual abuse to be a power problem. Groth and Burgess (1977) cite "distorted expression of identification and affiliation needs, power and control issues, and hostile and aggressive impulses, rather than sexuality" (p. 146) as the underlying issues in pedophilia. However, as Finkelhor (1984) states, we cannot ignore the sexual element.

Developmental problems

Problems in psychological growth--psychosocial or psychosexual--may contribute to the development of pedophilia (Bancroft, 1978; Finkelhor, 1984; Groth, Hobson, & Gary, 1982; Hammer & Glueck, 1957). Groth (1983) wrote: " It is the long-term consequence of

trauma and maltreatment (abuse, neglect, exploitation, and/or abandonment) during the formative years which have interfered with the psychological maturation of the individual" (p. 163). Thus, he went on, "we are dealing with clients who physically are adults but emotionally remain battered children" (p. 163). He sees pedophilia as "an attempted resolution--albeit a maladaptive one--to specific life issues or conflicts encountered in his psychosocial development" (Groth, 1978, p. 7). Mohr, Turner, and Jerry (1964), and Revitch and Weiss (1962), in their review of the literature, reported finding mental or emotional retardation as a causal factor in the development of pedophilia, since the developmentally delayed pedophile is emotionally congruent with the child, and therefore he turns to the child rather than an adult woman.

Traits

Many studies report traits and describe behaviors, drawing thumbnail sketches of the typical pedophile. Researchers depict the pedophile as immature and unable to form mature relationships (Groth, 1978; Schwartz & Masters, 1985), as a loner (Groth, 1983), and as afraid of adult women (Howells, 1979). He is unassertive (Groth, 1983; Kopp 1962) and shy (Groth, 1978) and therefore finds it difficult to relate to adult women.

He then turns to children where his deficiencies and impotence won't be noticed (Glueck, 1956; Karpman, 1957; Swanson, 1968). He has low self-esteem, generally feels inadequate and considers himself a failure (Groth, 1983; Hammer & Glueck, 1957; Kopp, 1962; Panton, 1978; Peters, 1976; Stricker, 1967). These traits may be lumped into a group called poor social skills (Cohen, Seghorn, & Calmas, 1969; Fisher, 1969; Fisher & Howell, 1970; Howells, 1981), which may then interact with other factors (such as drug or alcohol abuse, anger, negative attitudes to women, or aggressive sexual imagery) to account for pedophilic behavior (Lang et al, 1988). Other studies found no support for the pedophile as inadequate (Segal & Marshall, 1985; Wilson & Cox, 1983). He is also likely to have been sexually abused as a child (Groth & Burgess, 1979; Seghorn & Boucher, 1980). But not all sexually abused children grow up to become child molesters. A history of sexual abuse is probably part of an interaction with other factors (Finkelhor, 1984). Langevin (1985) tested each of the common assumptions about pedophiles prevalent in the literature. These are:

1. pedophiles are unassertive
2. they have a fear of, or aversion to, adult women

3. they have a fear of, or aversion to, heterosexual intercourse
4. force and dominance are important elements
5. the small size and immaturity of the child are important elements
6. pedophiles are narcissistic and passive
7. regressive play and fantasy are eroticized.

He found that pedophiles were not unassertive, and were in fact more aggressive than controls on some items. They did not have an aversion to adult females, as indicated by phallometric responses, and did not differ from controls in terms of violence, narcissism, and regression in measured sexual arousal.

Many of the personality characteristics ascribed to pedophiles may be responses to situational factors: inpatient versus outpatient, prison versus group home (Frisbey et al, 1967; Quinsey, 1977). Observations of pedophiles are almost always biased samples, gathered either in prisons or in treatment programs imposed as a condition of probation (Howells, 1981). Submissiveness is an asset under these conditions. Thus, character traits observed in pedophiles may be a result of their deviant status, rather than causal (Quinsey, 1977). The successful pedophile is generally not available to researchers, with the exception being a study by Bernard

(1975).

Adolescents

The adolescent offender is dealt with separately in the literature. Descriptions of the boy who seeks sexual contact with a younger child are similar to those of the adult pedophile. He is a loner who is socially and sexually immature and lacks sex education (Shoor, Speed & Bartelt, 1966), and he is extremely passive and feels inadequate (Knopp, 1982). Unlike studies of the adult pedophile, those of adolescents emphasize family dynamics: many of these boys come from homes that lack adequate emotional support (Maclay, 1960), have distorted family relations (Shoor, Speed & Bartelt, 1966), and are dysfunctional and chaotic (Knopp, 1982).

Biological factors

In the last few years researchers have focused their attention on biological factors involved in sexual deviancy syndromes, such as hormone levels and chromosomal anomalies. For example, Baker and Stoller (1968) reviewed the literature on Klinefelter's syndrome, characterized by the presence of an extra Y chromosome, and concluded that the prevalence of sexual deviation syndromes was higher in this group than in other men. Berlin (1983), noting a high frequency of biological pathologies, stated "there is evidence that

biological factors such as hormone levels or chromosomal makeup sometimes play a major contributory role with respect to the nature of an individual's sexual desires" (p. 83). Hucker (Hucker et al, 1986) recently discovered that brain scans of some pedophiles show abnormalities not found in other types of sexual offenders, although the connection between this finding and pedophilia is not clear.

The questions that remain of primary interest are: Why sex? And why a child? There are other people who have difficulty relating to adult women, who prefer the company of children, but who do not include a sexual component in the relationship. What is it about the child that makes for a satisfying relationship? And what is it about the pedophile that finds satisfaction in the child? These questions lead to another one: What is the meaning of sex to the pedophile (Finkelhor, 1984; Plummer, 1975)? The literature on the topic of pedophilia does not provide any answers to these questions. We can see a potpouri of explanations with a lack of consensus on the relative importance of the various suggested dynamics.

What remains is that pedophila is still an enigma (Groth, 1978; Langevin, 1985). Langevin (1985), summarizing the recent status of research into

pedophilia, concludes:

> Many doors are closed by empirical research. This has been the major result of the studies in this book. Theories of anomalous sexuality have often been based on limited information. Our perception of unusual sexual behavior has been derived from a reflection on the needs of the average man. It often has been assumed that the pedophile, the homosexual, and so on, really desire to have intercourse with adult females but they cannot for psychological or other reasons. It has become increasingly clear that this model is ineffective. We must now examine what makes such men qualitatively different. (p. 284)

3. Method

Overview of the grounded theory method

Grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978) is a method designed to generate theory from data that are systematically obtained. It is a discovery model (Bigus, Hadden, & Glaser, 1979; Mahrer, 1988; Quartaro, 1986) rather than a hypothesis-testing model, and thus it "allows us to discover what there is to discover" (Mahrer, 1988, p. 694).

The purpose of grounded theory methodology is to generate a theory that accounts for a pattern of behavior which is relevant and problematic for those involved (Glaser 78). To do this Glaser and Strauss (1967), and later Glaser (1978), described a systematic approach to both data collection and data analysis. In this approach the method is more rigorous than other qualitative methods. The resulting theory must meet four criteria: a theory must fit, have relevance, must work, and must be modifiable (Glaser, 1978). Rennie, Phillips, and Quartaro (1988) explain these criteria further:

> It should be believable in that it should seem to the reader to be a plausible explanation. It should be adequate in that it should present a comprehensive account that does not omit large or important portions of the data. It should be grounded in terms of the appropriate procedures and thereby inductively tied to the data. It should be

> applicable and should lead to hypotheses and additional investigation (p. 145).

The grounded theory method is particularly suited to subject areas that are difficult to assess with conventional methods. The approach "yields access to aspects of human experience which are difficult, if not impossible, to address with traditional approaches to psychological research yet are inherent in the subject matter of psychology" (Rennie et al, 1988, p. 147). Stern (1980) states that grounded theory is useful in investigations of "relatively uncharted waters," or may provide a fresh perspective in a familiar situation. But "it is especially helpful--even necessary--in attempting to study complex areas of behavioral problems where salient variables have not been identified" (Stern, 1980, p. 20).

Description of the method and its concepts

In the grounded theory method, the researcher gathers data, builds a model, and develops a theory (Quartaro, 1986). This is done in five stages, according to Quartaro, although Turner (1981) divides the work into nine steps. Quartaro's use of the word "stages" may be misleading since this implies a linearity of process that is not actually present. Rather, the research process involves five elements, which may be concurrent and/or recursive. The five

elements are:

1. collection of data
2. comparison of data
3. integration of categories
4. delimitation of the emerging theory
5. presentation of the theory.

The collection of data. The initial sources of data are individuals who are chosen because they typify the problem under study; they are highly typical. As analysis proceeds and a tentative theory emerges, further individuals are selected based on that theory. Sources of data are also considered in terms of variability, diversity, and limiting cases. As the tentative theory becomes firmer, the researcher looks for cases to prove or disprove hypothesis that have emerged.

The comparison of data. The data is subjected to a line by line analysis, and an initial summary code is attached to the material. This code is simply a descriptive label at this stage, frequently using the interviewee's own words. This coding is different from content analysis in that the codes are determined by the data, and are not chosen beforehand. They may be highly idiosyncratic and reflect the individuality of the participants.

Each of these coded fragments is an incident. The incidents are compared and contrasted to each other, and similar incidents are categorized under a conceptual label. This category label is at a higher conceptual level than the initial codes, and so a hierarchy of concepts is developed. The properties of each category are identified, until saturation occurs. This means that no new information is forthcoming, and no new concepts are being developed. Saturation occurs at each stage of the research process as the analysis progresses. The researcher finds that she is merely repeating herself, and that there is no new information forthcoming, whether it be in the data which is being coded and categorized, or in the concepts that are being memoed. Hutchinson (1986) describes saturation as the point at which you can answer questions about the cause, context, consequences, conditions, strategies, and dimensions of the particular category. In reviewing grounded theory studies, Rennie et al (1988) found that saturation occurs after the analysis of five to ten protocols.

The integration of categories. The categories are integrated into higher levels of abstractions. The relationship or link between each is then sought and defined. At this point the core category emerges. The core category is one that accounts for most of the

variation in the patterns of behavior. It is central in that most other categories are related to it. Thus it has the prime function of integrating the theory.

The core category in itself may or may not be a process. If it is a process, then it is called a basic social process (BSP). A BSP is defined as the process that explains the relevant problem pattern of behavior and the resolution of the problem by the individuals concerned (Glaser, 1978). It is this process that the researcher aims to find.

Strategies of the grounded theory method

The constant comparative method. The first four stages use the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to analyze the data. This technique forms the basis of the grounded theory method. A code is generated by comparison of incident to incident, and later, by comparison of incident to category. This forces the analyst to look for similarities, differences, and consistency of meanings in generating concepts.

Memoing. The writing of memos is an ongoing process in grounded research. As data are collected and analyzed, ideas occur about the codes, the categories, and their relationships to each other. These ideas are systematically recorded in the form of memos. The

writing of memos serves several functions:

> 1. they help the analyst to obtain insight into tacit, guiding assumptions
>
> 2. they raise the conceptual level of the research by encouraging the analyst to think beyond single incidents to themes and patterns in the data
>
> 3. they capture speculations about the properties of categories, or relationships among categories, or possible criteria for the selection of further data sources
>
> 4. they enable the researcher to reserve ideas that have potential value but which may be premature
>
> 5. they are useful if gaps in the relation of theory to data arise, for they provide a record of the researcher's ideas about the analysis and can be used to trace the development of a category
>
> 6. they are used to note thoughts about the similarity of the emerging theory to established theories or concepts
>
> 7. they play a key role in the write-up of the theory. (Rennie et al, 1988, p. 144)

Quartaro (1986) further explains the importance of the first function of memoing, that of helping the analyst to obtain insight into tacit, guiding assumptions. Since grounded research is a subjective method, there is danger of the researcher's biases influencing the findings. As in the phenomenological approach of Giorgi (1970), there is a need to bracket the assumptions of the researcher. Biases are limited by being specified and made part of the research process through the writing of memos, which may then be put aside and followed up later should this be indicated by the data.

Unit theory versus process theory

With the BSP as the central category around which the theory is constructed, a grounded theory is a process theory (Bigus, Hadden, & Glaser, 1979; Glaser, 1978; Rennie et al, 1988). This is distinct from what both Glaser and Bigus refer to as unit theory. Although their discussion concerns sociology, this distinction applies to psychology as well. In unit theory, the concern is generally with static descriptions such as traits and measures, as those obtained from the MMPI. In process theory, the focus of attention is generic process; "the referrant is the process itself, not the particular unit in which it is isolated" (Bigus et al, 1979, p. 253).

Strengths and limitations

Grounded theory methodology has received some attention in the last year from psychologists (Rennie et al, 1988; Mahrer, 1988; Quartaro, 1986). Mahrer presents a case for discovery-oriented research in the face of the "disappointing" results of theory-verification research. Whereas the aims of the hypothesis-testing model in psychotherapy are to confirm or disconfirm theoretical propositions, or to contribute to a cumulative body of psychotherapeutic knowledge, the aims of discovery-oriented studies are

different:

> The whole basis for designing discovery-oriented studies is the intention to learn more; to be surprised; to find out what one does not already expect, predict, or hypothesize; to answer a question whose answer provides something one wants to know but might not have expected, predicted, or hypothesized. (Mahrer, 1988, p. 297)

Quartaro (1986) discusses the strengths of the grounded theory method, and after reviewing a number of grounded studies, some of the limitations that she found. The strengths she described are as follows:

1. the method makes it possible to make rigorous and systematic analyses of phenomena which occur in diffuse and varied forms that render them relatively impervious to more traditional research strategies
2. it also permits the researcher to raise the level of the analysis to highly abstract and formal levels
3. it does not require the abandonment of the more conventional stance, and
4. it is visible from either perspective - it is in the middle. (Quartaro, 1986)

In explaining this last point, Quartaro refers to grounded theory as being "like a rock in the river between traditional social science research on one shore and more radical research strategies which have another

philosophical base, such as phenomenology, on the other" (p. 9).

Rennie sees four issues involved in using a discovery approach, these being a) the philosophical differences between theory generation versus theory verification, b) credibility in the light of researcher subjectivity, c) the use of verbal reports as data, and d) the generalizability of the findings. These issues will be discussed below.

Threats to credibility

Subjectivity. The grounded researcher attempts to deal with the problem of subjectivity by bracketing assumptions in the forms of memos (Glaser, 1987; Quartaro, 1986; Rennie et al, 1988). Yet the role of the researcher in grounded theory is crucial in some ways. As Quartaro states, "in the final portion of the analysis, a grounded theory research project becomes subject to the researcher's own capacities, inclinations, and limitations" (p. 14). In reference to her own work, she explains further:

> The investigator becomes a shaping influence on the developing investigation. More abstract categories develop according to the data but also according to the knowledge and experience of the researcher. This influence is undeniable. . . . The analysis is coloured by the perspective of the specific researcher. However, it is unlikely that any grounded researcher would not have seen this pattern in the data and represented it in some way. At this level of analysis, the researcher influences the data, but the limiting factors for

that influence are the data themselves. (p. 21) Rennie discusses subjectivity as a problem in the context of the norm of total objectivity in the positivist tradition. This norm makes it difficult for the grounded theorist to fully state his biases due to fears of a lack of acceptance and due to the prevailing editorial constraints of publications.

Reliability and validity. Procedures for assessing reliability and validity cannot be carried over directly from quantitative analysis, since these assume a preset research design.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that auditability should be the criterion of rigor, and that a report is auditable when another person can follow the decision trail from start to finish. The auditor should be able to follow the progression of events and understand the logic by being able to follow a clear description of what was actually done and why.

Verbal reports as data. The use of verbal reports by grounded theorists means that they may not have access to internal processes of which the participants are unaware (Rennie et al, 1988). Furthermore, the participants may mislead the researcher about those things of which they are aware. But what is present in verbal reports is conscious material, and that what is

conscious is intentionality (Morris, 1981). The in-depth interview combined with repeated interviews serve as a check on credibility for the individual, as does the constant comparative method, which checks that different individuals are saying the same thing (Rennie et al, 1988; Hutchinson, 1986).

Generalizability. According to Glaser (1978) a BSP theory, in other words a process theory, is fully generalizable, since the process is a generic process, and it is one that is being used by the unit under study, and is not a source of that unit. A BSP theory is hypothetical, it is a theory, not a factual description, and thus it is theoretically generalizable. As Glaser states: "the only claim being made is that the BSP in question explains much of the variation to be found in the actions, interactions, and perceptions found in the collected data" (1978, p. 115).

The small number of subjects is not problematic in qualitative research since the researcher seeks intimacy with the phenomenon, rather than evidence of generalizability through random sampling or large numbers. What is sought is depth rather than breadth, what Geertz (1983) calls "thick description." The object is not to verify the theory so generated, beyond the verification yielded by the saturation of

categories. Additional types of verification is deliberately left to other studies and other researchers (Rennie et al, 1988). For example, one way to verify the present theory is by studies of self-concept and self-esteem using various existing measures, thus providing quantifiable evidence of poorly developed self-concepts. The theory would also be verified through long-term therapuetic practice, where clinical utility would provide verification over time. A third type of verification would result from the linkage of the theory to other existing theories, since increased linkages would provide increased verification.

Replicability. Hutchinson (1986) states that the question of replicability is probably not specially relevant, since the point of theory generation is to offer new perspectives on a given situation and to offer a good and useful way of looking at a certain world.

Grounded theory and deviancy

Although not mentioned in the literature on grounded theory, Glaser (1978) also discusses BSP theories in relation to the study of deviancy, as do Bigus, Hadden and Glaser (1979). They write that:

> Most studies of deviant behavior carry with them the implicit assumption that "deviant" behavior is somehow fundamentally different from "normal" behavior, that the "causes" of deviant behavior are also fundamentally different from the "causes" of non-deviant behavior rather than being two consequences of the same BSP. (p. 260)

By implication, the BSP that must account, in this case, for the deviant sexual behavior (pedophilia) must also account for normal sexual behavior.

Grounded theory as the method of choice

Since hypothesis-testing methods have failed to clarify the enigma of pedophilia, a discovery model was looked for that would provide a systematic and rigorous approach. Grounded theory was seen as the method of choice for a number of reasons. First of all, it is designed to generate theory, and a satisfactory theory of pedophilia does not exist. Second, clearly a fresh perspective (Stern, 1980) would provide insights into the phenomenon. Third, salient variables have not been identified (Stern, 1980). Fourth, grounded theory provides access to experiences that more traditional approaches find difficult to assess (Rennie et al, 1988). Fifth, grounded theory focuses on process, rather than on units. Previous research on pedophilia has focused on traits and measures rather than on process. It has been unit focused research, with the units (pedophiles) being divided into smaller units (types and subtypes) as a result of inconclusive findings. Sixth, one of the strengths of the method is that it is able to deal with phenomena that are varied and diffuse (Quartaro, 1986), and pedophilia is such a

phenomenon. There is no homogeneous profile of a pedophile. And last of all, grounded theory does not require the abandonment of the more conventional research stance (Quartaro, 1986).

Implementation of the study

Informants

The informants were six men who had been charged and convicted of a sexual assault against a child. Unfortunately, no female pedophiles were available for the study. All informants were serving their sentences in a treatment program for sexual offenders at a psychiatric institution where I worked as a staff member, and had been in therapy for a period varying from three months to ten months. The initial criterion for inclusion in the study was simply a diagnosis of pedophilia based on phallometric tests for sexual preference, and an obvious history of pedophilic behaviors. As the study progressed, criteria for inclusion in the study changed to meet the demands of theoretical sampling (sampling based on the emerging theory). An additional criterion, imposed by the hospital ethics committee, was that the psychiatrist in charge sign a form attesting that the individual was able to give full and informed consent. This condition was met by all participants.

The men were serving prisoners, on leave from a prison to the psychiatric institution's therapy program, which was a secure treatment setting. This means that they were receiving therapy voluntarily, and could choose to return to prison at any time, but also that the treatment team could decide to return them at any time for noncompliance to treatment. Under these conditions, the pressure is great for being a model patient. It was made clear to the informants that their participation was voluntary and that they could say no. They could refuse to answer any question, and could change their mind once they had seen the transcription of their interview. It was stressed that this research had no connection to the treatment program and transcripts would not be shown to the treatment team. But given their powerless position, it is possible that their agreement to participate was prompted by the need to be compliant.

Informants were asked if they would be willing to participate in a study of pedophilia by being interviewed and asked about their lives and experiences. Procedures to ensure confidentiality were explained, and emphasis was given to the fact that all information would be confidential, and that participation in this study would be entirely separate from participation in

the treatment program. Therefore no information would be given to the treatment team, and refusal to participate would not reflect on their standing in the treatment program.

Since the grounded theory method requires that one collects initial data from informants who typify the phenomena, the first two informants chosen were men who were repeat offenders; they had long histories of sexual assaults against children. Once the first two informants had been interviewed, they served as "references" for the next selected informants , a consequence that was unexpected. They provided reassurance and explanations to the next ones about the kind of questions that had been asked, that confidentiality had been maintained, and that there had been no repercussions from the treatment team.

The informants ranged in age from 28 to 47, and included heterosexual, homosexual, and bisexual pedophiles. Included were first offenders as well as repeat offenders with long histories of sexual assaults against children. Only one of the informants had never been married or had had a relationship with a woman. Half of the men had committed intra-familial assaults, and the other half had committed extra-familial assaults.

Data collection

Interviewing took place in a private room and the sessions were tape recorded. The initial interviews lasted 80 to 90 minutes, and the second interviews, conducted one month later, tended to be shorter, lasting about one hour. A total of ten interviews were collected, but due to failure to turn on the recorder once, only nine interviews resulted. These were distributed among the six informants as follows:

#1 - three interviews (the last interview was not taped)

#2 - two interviews

#3 - two interviews

#4 - one interview

#5 - one interview

#6 - one interview.

The time elapsed between the first interview and the last one was eight months. The interviews were transcribed soon after the recording sessions, and these protocols were returned to the individuals for corrections of possible errors, for validation of the information, and for reassurance about confidentiality by showing that no names or identifiers were present. No changes or corrections resulted from this.

Impact of the research on the informants

Prior to the interviews, the subjects were informed that the information being sought was not how much they had learned in therapy, but rather how they had felt in the past and what their thoughts were at the time of their offense. During the interviews, the men would use such terms as "power and control," reflecting concepts focused on by the treatment team. When this occurred, they were asked "is that what you have learned here, or is that what you thought then?" Their responses changed following such statements. This change in focus seemed to have a liberating effect on the men. Most of them expressed anger at the treatment team for telling them how they thought and felt, and some broke into tears.

Being interviewed for a study was an important occurrence for most. One man, almost totally illiterate, carried the transcript of his interview with him wherever he went. This man did not usually watch TV, but following the return of his transcript, he spent an entire weekend sitting in front of the TV, amidst about ten other men, displaying his open transcript. He also volunteered himself for a third interview, saying "I have thought of some more things to tell you that might be important."

Four of the six men spent more time in my company in the following months than they had previously.

Having their life stories listened to without judgement or fear of therapeutic intervention appeared to create a bond for them with myself. All of this aided the recruitment of further subjects for interviews.

Bracketing

The first requirement following the interviews was to define and separate my assumptions about pedophilia from what was actually in the data. The researcher role and the therapist role had to be differentiated. As a therapist, labels such as denial, minimalization, power and control, rationalization, and manipulation were frequently used. As a researcher viewing the data, these concepts had to be set aside. Writing memoes about these problems served to bracket existing assumptions, and once they are down on paper it is easier to put them aside. Two examples of data which required an open mind are "I didn't think it was wrong," and "she seemed to want it." These statements were accepted at face value.

4. Overview of the Theory

Being or Nothingness: Realizing a Self

The following is a preview of the theory of pedophilia which resulted from this study. Pedophilia is a set of behaviors that develops over time as the result of attempting to solve a basic problem: acquiring a sense of self. The self of the pedophile is a negative self, both in the sense that he feels worthless, and in the sense of the self being absent, an emptiness. In order to resolve this problem he engages in a series of behaviors to accomplish his end goal, that of realizing himself as a man.

The basic social psychological process (BSPP) of the phenomenom of pedophilia identified is "Realizing a Self." This BSPP is the core category which serves to explain pedophilia and accounts for most of the variation in behaviors of the individuals involved. This activity proceeds over four stages, starting at childhood and ending with a sexual preference for children. The stages are:

1. Stage One: Being an Outsider
2. Stage Two: Attaching
3. Stage Three: Realizing a Self
4. Stage Four: Maintaining a Self.

In the following sections the stages will be discussed in detail, describing their conditions, their contexts, the strategies used, and the consequences of each stage.

There are two types of selves realized: a masculine self and an acceptable self. This is expressed in terms of wanting to be a man, and wanting to be accepted. But these two things are closely related, with one being dependent on the other. If one is not a "real man" then by definition one is not acceptable. And conversely, if one is acceptable, then one must be, again by definition, a real man. The focus is slightly different, and this difference divides the pedophile into two types: the inadequate-adult, and the child-adult, as described in Stage Three.

Being a man as a way of realizing a self is also described by Herek (1987): "Being a man is a crucial component of personal identity for males in our society, stemming from the early experience of gender as a self-defining characteristic" (p. 72)

The pedophile is a person who is context dependent. He is dependent on his environment and requires others to define who and what he is. This gives rise to a further category, changing contexts, which is closely related to the activity of realizing a self, in that it is through repeated changes of context that the self is

realized by the pedophile. These changes consist of an ever narrowing range of possibilities for self realization. This narrowing of focus is consistent with the prime strategy practiced by the pedophile throughout his life, that of holding back in order to prevent failure.

Realizing a Self as a process and a theory is shown in Figure 1 and can be summarized as follows:

1. The experiences of childhood result in emotional deficiencies and the feeling of being unacceptable and of not belonging, the feeling of Being an Outsider (Stage One). He also develops the strategy of holding back in order to avoid failure and subsequent rejection.

2. This creates a wish to belong to a family, to be accepted, and the individual proceeds to fulfill this desire by either associating with or starting a family (Stage Two). He also develops the strategy of putting up a front, also designed to prevent failure and rejection, and he acts out the social role of being a man. At some point in this attempt he fails.

3. Experiencing himself as unacceptable and as a failure in the social role of being a man, he now changes the context of his relationships from that of the family to that of the child. He uses sex as the

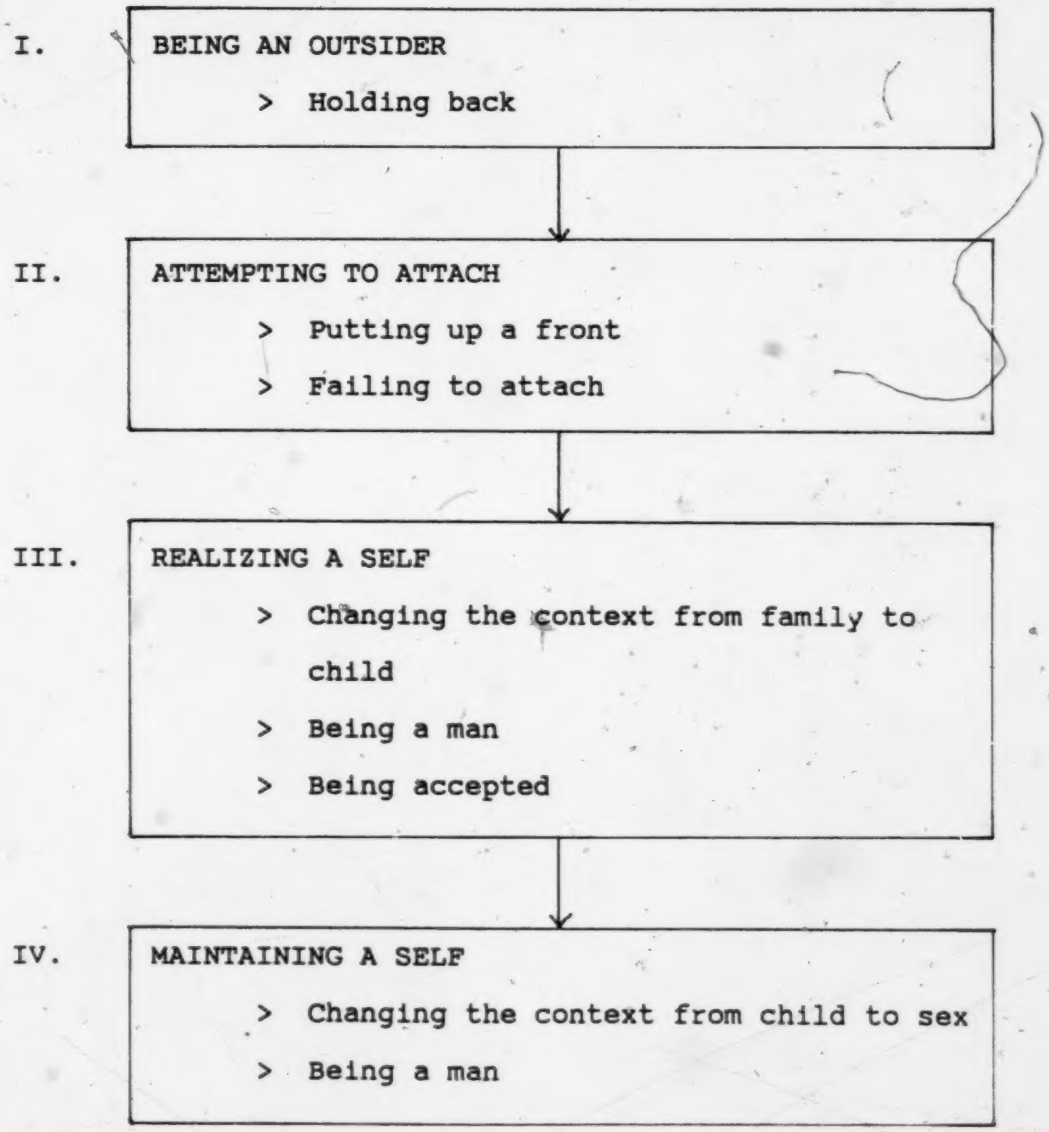

Figure 1. Realizing a Self in Pedophilia

means of furthering a relationship and becoming accepted (Stage Three). Of course he fails to earn acceptance, but does experience himself as a man, in that he is sexual.

4. Having experienced success in being a man in a sexual sense, he again changes the context of his relationships, this time from the child to the concept of sex itself (Stage Four). This allows him to maintain his image of being a man, which is now defined as a sexual man. He is now sexually aroused by children, sees himself as being a man, and although once again an Outsider, is no longer in doubt about being someone.

This study uses terms relating to pedophilia in different sense than the usual reports on pedophilia, and require some explanation. The activities of the pedophile will be referred to here as pedophiling, to stress the fact that this is behavior, and that this behavior results from conditions and processes which lead to becoming a pedophile, rather than a condition of pedophilia which results in pedophilic behaviors. One other clarification is necessary here, and that is the difference between what I have termed the primary pedophile and the secondary pedophile, a distinction found in this study. Stage Three presents the primary pedophile who is in a first sexual relationship with a

child, and whose goal is the relationship itself, rather than the sexual contact. The child is the context by which he defines himself. This differs from the secondary pedophile described in Stage Four, who's prime referent point for himself is the sexual context, rather than the relationship with the child. This man, unlike the first one, now has a preference for children as a sexual stimulus.

The theory presented here is a sequential and cumulative portrait of the processes involved in becoming a pedophile and charts the recurrent contingencies the individual encounters.

5. Stage One: Being an Outsider

> Living at the house itself we were eight. And I guess I was always on the outside. I never felt like I was part of it. I was always there, but every time they talked I felt like I was on the outside looking in. I felt like that all through, even now. Even now with my family it's like I'm still outside the door, and they're inside, and I'm talking to them. Just like I could never go and ask them for favors. I never felt I was really part of it. . . . They were nice to me and everything; I just felt strange.

Stage One in the process of pedophilia is Being an Outsider. This is the stage of the pedophile's childhood that forms the basis of the subsequent stages, and in which the basic strategy that he will use as an adult, holding back, is learned. See Table I for an overview of the conditions, strategies, and consequences found in this stage.

Conditions

The conditions of the pedophile's childhood are present in all the participants, but vary with individuals in extent. Each one may experience one of the conditions as being central, so that "being different" may be primary for one person, "being lonely" for another, or "being no good" for a third. The conditions interact with each other, enhancing the effect of each, to form the set of conditions descriptive of this stage, Being an Outsider.

Table I

Overview of Stage One: Being an Outsider

Conditions	Strategies	Consequences
lacking freedom	holding back	wanting
feeling helpless		fearing
feeling different		dreaming
feeling isolated		failing to grow
feeling worthless		
feeling unloved		

Lacking freedom

> I felt when I was growing up, when I was old enough to look after my brother and my two younger sisters, it was kind of like I had to do it. Mom was working, the old man wasn't home that much, and I had to run home from school every day and cook supper and clean house and that, look after them. And I really despised that after a while, because, sure it was helping mom, and I felt I had to, you know, but still I couldn't go out and play when I wanted to, go out with my buddies, and you know, do stuff like that. And it really, it affected me.

Freedom can be restricted in a number of ways. Constraints may be of two types: external or internal in origin. The external constraints may be adult imposed or due to the environment, and the internal constraints are self-imposed and they may be physical or emotional.

An example of an external adult imposed constraint is the ordering of the child by the adult to stay home to work, or to be a caretaker for the family. This was the situation for four of the six informants, and was described as "my childhood was taken away from me." The child may also be ordered to be a caretaker of an adult. One man was told by his father that he had to stay home and be responsible for his mother, who suffered frequent life threatening illnesses. He was the youngest of eight children, and from age 6 onwards had to help his mother around the house and look after her in her illnesses[1]. A further example of an adult imposed constraint of a physical nature is given by one informant who said:

> I can remember going across that field all the time to that farmer's place, because he would make me little toys to play with, and I enjoyed going over there a lot. I guess I probably went over there every day, so they tied me up.

Examples of external environmental constraints are living in an institution, living on a farm, or living in a financially poor family. These constraints become relevant factors when they affect the child's sense of freedom, when there is an awareness of something missing, and when adult responsibilities are imposed.

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[1]J. M. Barrie (author of Peter Pan), also a pedophile and the ninth of ten children, had to become his mother's chief comforter at the age of six, following the death of his older brother.

Thus there is an interaction with these constraints and a sense of being different from others. Living in an institution makes you different from other children who have parents. Living on a farm means you are physically isolated from neighbors and may also mean you have to do a man's work. The main effect of these constraints is a lack of time or opportunity to play, and a lack of time or opportunity to make friends.

> It feels very lonely. You know, like, you feel you've just had your freedom taken away. I don't know, you just after a while you just survive the best way you can, I guess. You know, just loneliness there, emptyness. I don't know how else to explain it. How else it felt.

Self-imposed constraints may also keep the child away from peers and play activity. One man had acquired a "blood clot on the brain" at age six or seven as a result of an accident and required hospitalization for a one year period, "just as I was beginning to explore." The first constraint, the hospitalization, was an adult imposed constraint. But following his release from the hospital, he lived in constant fear of dying if he got hit on the head, and therefore did not allow himself to play with anyone. He would go fishing alone instead. Again the consequence of the constraint is an isolation from peers.

Other self-imposed emotional constraints based on fears were fears of dying, fear of mother dying, fear of

rejection, and fear of failure. These fears are discussed in greater detail below, since they are a consequence of the childhood conditions as well as a cause. At this stage, as a causal factor in being an outsider, they serve to limit the child's activities with peers and result in isolation. The fears also serve to build a state of constant anxiety and insecurity.

The amount of freedom children have affects feeling like an outsider. A lack of freedom results in no time to play and in a lack of friends. Having to stay home to look after mother, or having to hurry home from school to look after the other kids, restricts the child from playing with friends.

Feeling helpless

> I felt helpless a lot of times. Like I can remember sitting on the floor. I don't know what age I was, must be maybe around three or so, I guess, two or three. I was just walking, I think. It's very fuzzy. I can remember vividly my dad punching mom, and beating her up. And a total feeling of being helpless and screaming. And crying on the floor, and he had kind of a head-lock on her and was punching her. And that was my first, the farthest thing I can remember back. I didn't know what to do, you know. And after that it was a lot of times of feeling helpless, like with myself even, being chubby, fat, whatever. I wouldn't be able to do nothing about it. Just eating more and more all the time. And I don't know, just generally feeling helpless a lot of the times. Hopeless even, never amount to nothing, why even try.

Feelings of being helpless is a further condition

of Being an Outsider. It is marked by a sense of resignation, of "surviving the best way you can." This results from the combination of constraints imposed by adults and the resulting isolation. Since they are isolated from peers, they are unable to learn the more active survival strategies and social skills that are learned in both cooperative and competitive play (Grunebaum & Solomon, 1980). Feeling helpless may also follow from abusive situations, both sexual and physical, and from a general failure of the adults in the child's life to provide either physical or emotional support. Being let down by adults leads to a sense of mistrust of adults. Neither parents nor teachers live up to the child's expectations of what those roles involve.

> At school, I couldn't do nothing in school. Well, I couldn't seem to learn a lot in school. I don't know, I just (pause). Nobody there to help me. My foster parents never helped me in school with my work. . . . I was never helped with any homework. And the teachers, I felt the teachers they just give up on me.

Feeling different

This condition may be subjectively experienced as "not fitting in," "not belonging," "feeling different," and as "being on the outside." It is a feeling of being different from other people.

I'm slow. I'm a slow learner. I don't know, it

> seemed like a mental block a lot of times, a lot of things, like I just couldn't grasp it. And that was humiliating I guess in school. . . . I don't know, I just feel like I couldn't succeed. Like it was a block there. I'd go so far and that was it. I couldn't get past that block. And I wouldn't even try, you know, because I just never, I'd fail. So I just let it go. And that was it. So I kind of decided, while I was growing up, I didn't have too much of a good attitude towards myself. Like I didn't feel as good as the rest.

This condition of differentness is maximized when the child goes to school. In addition to being able to compare himself to his peers, and to notice differences in family situations, he may fail grade one, as three of the six informants did. Further school failures increase the differences, as with each failure the age difference increases. One man had failed grades one, three, five, and seven. As a result, by the time he was in grade seven he was four years older than his "peers." Ridicule by other children may increase differentness, such as being called "fatso," dummy." Feeling different is minimized when the school experiences are successful, as they were for only two of the informants.

The family setting also serves to increase or decrease feelings of being different, as does the lack of freedom. The child compares his family to other families and notices differences. Other fathers are not alcoholics, other families have money to buy bikes, other mothers kiss their children goodbye:

> I can remember once where this other kid was

> getting a kiss from his mother, goodbye, and I remember saying to him, that's weird, my mother never does that to me. I can remember that, and that would be six or seven, seven or eight, something like that.

This differentness is given a negative valence by the child, it is not something that is valued. In comparing himself to others, he is always "on the short end of the stick." In combination with the other conditions of childhood, the difference felt in the self is an absence of something, an emptiness.

Feeling isolated

Feeling isolated results in part from the previous conditions, and is also an independent factor. Isolation may be the result of physical conditions, such as living in an isolated setting with no neighbors or friends, or it may be the result of a lack of opportunity to relate to peers, as described above. It may also be an emotional isolation as the result of a deprivation of love. The less extreme case of love deprivation is that of parental indifference:

> I felt I didn't have a family. My father didn't want to do anything I wanted to do. I wanted to go fishing, he didn't want to go fishing. I'd ask him to come for a bike ride, he wouldn't ride. I'd ask him did he want to play baseball, he would'nt play baseball. I didn't feel I had a father.

Feeling worthless

> I always felt inside of me that I was no good. No self-confidence in myself. And why would anybody want to get involved with me, or what would they see in me. I could never see nothing.

Feelings of worthlessness are another condition leading to the development of the Outsider. These feelings of being worthless come from a number of sources. The main one is being told directly by a parent, and in this situation it was fathers, that "you are no good," "worthless," "stupid," and "a failure." Feelings of worthlessness are increased by school failures, as occurred with three of the informants. They are also increased as a result of the interaction of the other conditions, such as being ignored, feeling helpless, feeling unloved and rejected, and a lack of friends. Feelings of worthlessness may also result from being a victim of physical or sexual abuse.

Feeling unloved

> My mother, I was close to her. But not close enough. Like I really, I loved my mother. I respect my mother. My mother did a lot for me. She used to darn my clothes for me. She cared for me. But not the same as my sisters. She cared more about my sisters and did more with my sisters. Well, my father. He had his life. . . . When I was a kid he had a job, and the job was very important. His volunteer work at the ----- was important. And just himself.

Feeling unloved as a condition of Being an Outsider is pervasive, and isolates the child within the family. Feeling unloved results from cold and distant parents, from rejecting parents, or from the absence of parents. Feeling unloved may vary in degree from not feeling

loved at all, feeling ignored, or feeling not loved enough. Although mothers were perceived as good, "She loved my sisters more."

Strategies

Holding back

Under these conditions, the child develops the strategy of "holding back." Strategies are conscious attempts to deal with a problem. The primary purpose of this strategy of holding back is to cope with the fear of failure, and thus to avoid rejection. It begins here in Stage One, and carries forward through all the stages. It means giving half measures as opposed to full measures, cutting down what you attempt to achieve, since:

> The consequences of failure were much greater, and much greater feeling of stupid and everything else about yourself; so you kind of, even when I was a child, cut it down. Even my grades just passing. This way if I got an 80 or something, or 70, which I did once in a while, shocked the heck out of myself, I'd have to try to get better, you know, and I didn't like that. Because I always knew I was going to fail, you know, always there. There was always a lot of feelings about that when I was a kid. It wasn't a good feeling.

Consequences

These conditions and strategies combine to leave gaps in the development of the child and result in a number of consequences:

1. They leave the child wanting, both lacking and desiring,
2. There is instability, anxiety, and fears,
3. The child builds dreams, and
4. There is a failure to develop emotionally

Wanting

To want is to lack something that is not forthcoming or provided, and that certain something is requisite and needful. And it is also the desire for something. In this extended meaning of the word lies the essence of the child as Outsider. He is in a state of wanting.

> I always, always wanted a relationship. I always wanted just to be loved, to be, to feel needed, to be hugged.

The lacks as a consequence of childhood conditions are a lack of belonging, a lack of safety and security, a lack of self worth, and a lack of love. After the physiological needs of food, clothing and shelter, these are basic needs in growth and development (Maslow, 1968). These needs were not met. In addition, there is an awareness of the gaps, of missing something, which leaves a feeling of emptiness.

> I guess it was an altogether different lifestyle than we were used to and I just couldn't get used to it I guess (foster home placement). There must have been some love and affection at home but I don't remember, because when I went there I missed something. I guess maybe that's what it was that I missed. That was taken away.

Filling the emptiness becomes a motivating force.

The wants are to have a family, to belong, to count, to be loved, to be validated as a person of importance. Families are a source of love and affection and self-esteem and for children it is the primary source. It is the place where one becomes an individual, develops a personality, and develops independence and autonomy. The family setting provides a context for self definition. The wants in this stage are summarized as: "I always wanted to have a family, somebody to belong to."

Fearing

> My dad used to work in logging camps, for a diamond drilling company, and before he'd leave and that he would say "you've got to look after your mom," you know. But like it was always me. Like you're responsible, you've got to look after your mom. But like it seemed like it was always my responsibility. Like I say, my dad, you know, it's your responsibility, you've got to look after your mom, cause you know she's sick. And of course it would come into mind, like you know, you kids are going to drive me into my grave. So every time she'd get sick, you know, I'd just be praying that she wouldn't die. I can remember my mother was laying in bed there, and I put the towels at the side of her so that when she'd throw [illegible]. I had all these metal porcelain basins on the [illegible]r. And I had the towels there, and I'd be tuc[illegible] them in. And I kept checking up on her all the time. But it was always like I didn't want her to die. But that was always my fear. That she'd die and that I'd be responsible for it.

The conditions of childhood create an aura of insecurity, anxiety, and fears. The child is fearful,

although the specific fears vary from individual to individual. Some fears are found in all, such as the fear of failure, the fear of not being good enough, and the fear of rejection. Other fears vary with the individual, such as the fear of death and the fear of abuse.

The fear of failure is accompanied by the fear of rejection. These two fears are inseparable, and they lead to the development of two different strategies. The first strategy is "holding back" and is developed in Stage One, as discussed above. The second strategy is "putting up a front" and is not developed until Stage Two.

The response to fear, in addition to the development of strategies, is to build a dream where the anxieties don't exist. It is a form of wishful thinking.

Dreaming

The development of dreams is an attempt to defend oneself against fears, uncertainty and anxiety, and this development of dreams and ideals is in direct proportion to the degree of instability and anxiety. The response to fear is to build a dream where these conditions don't exist. This may also be called wishful thinking or mythical thinking (Douglas & Atwell, 1988). It results

in seeing the world in terms of ideals and stereotypes[2]. The ideals are centered around the concepts of childhood, family, adults, and gender roles. Each of these represents the ideal situation, a dream of perfection, a filler of a gap.

In this stage the dream centers around a family. There is a wish to have a different family, a wish to belong, to have all the things that are lacking. They would be loved and accepted and would belong.

> As a kid I used to watch people walk down the street with their kids, looked so nice you know, a perfect family, walking down the street, with the baby in the stroller. That's what I always wanted.

This dream of a family takes on a different aspect and gains in importance in Stage Two, where a family is actively looked for, although the element of belonging to the family remains.

There are several consequences of building dreams. It sets up contradictions, and this is the contradiction between the internal reality (the feeling of being worthless) and the external reality (in this stage the dream of an external reality). A further consequence of building dreams is the establishment of high ideals. This may increase the feeling of not being good enough, and may increase the fear of failure. It also sets the

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[2]see Maslow (1968) for an account of deficiency motivated people's viewing the world in Aristotelian terms.

stage for actual failures, a crucial element of Stage Two.

Failing to grow

> I was there (in the foster home) till I was eighteen. And when I was eighteen I had to go to work as Welfare wouldn't pay for them to keep me no more. . . . I had to go on my own. So I felt that, I still feel that my childhood was taken away from me. It feels very lonely, you know, like, feel you've just had your freedom taken away. I don't know, you just after a while, you just, survive the best way you can, I guess. You know, just loneliness there. Emptyness.

The failure of emotional growth as a consequence of the conditions of childhood occurs as a result of the constraints to freedom and the strategy of holding back. The constraints of freedom limit actual physical exploration of the environment, limit interaction with peers, and limit play activity. These elements facilitate growth and development in the child. It is through peer play that children learn how to cope with failure and with rejection and learn appropriate social skills. These conditions prevent or hinder the developmental task of childhood, that of developing autonomy and independence.

The strategy of holding back prevents growth in that the child does not try new experiences. There is no risk taking. It is stopped by the fear of failure. Normal childhood is a time for exploring, trying out things, learning to fail, learning to cope with failure;

all this has stopped.

Being an Outsider

Being an Outsider thus has the following characteristics: there are a set of conditions present in childhood which produce a number of consequences and one strategy for dealing with them. The child experiences a lack of freedom, he feels helpless, he feels different and isolated from others, and he feels worthless and unloved. As a consequence, he lives with fears, he has gaps in his development, and therefore builds dreams and ideals. He employs a strategy of holding back to defend himself from his negative feelings. The final consequence is a failure to grow and develop at a psychosociological level.

6. Stage Two: Attaching

> That was always in the back of my mind, like, you're not good enough. You never will be. Every relationship was like that. And I always, always, wanted a relationship. I always wanted just to be loved.
>
> I can't seem to get enough love. Like no matter what you do I want more. . . . I'm a bottomless pit at getting needs met.

Stage Two is the stage of Attaching. It is the outsider attempting to come in, to attach himself to others in order to fill his gaps. It results from the conditions set up in Stage One. The potential pedophile attempts to resolve the problem of gaps in his development that have left him feeling empty and alienated. By the end of Stage Two he has failed to do so. See Table II on the next page for an overview.

The goal of Attaching is to gain an acceptable self-definition by entering into a context that will fill one's emotional needs and give one a sense of belonging and of being accepted. If you belong to something, you must be okay because you have been accepted.

Conditions

Wanting to belong

Very simply put, the potential pedophile wants to feel good. He defines this as belonging, being loved, being accepted, feeling warmth and closeness, being

understood, and being heard. All the things he never had as a child, and he wants them. Not having had these needs met, he looks for the source, a family, to fulfill them. All his desires focus on this.

Table II

Overview of Stage Two: Attaching

Conditions	Contexts	Strategies	Consequences
wanting	being an adult	holding back	failing
depending	being a male	putting up a front	dependent self
building ideals			
mistrusting			
fearing			

The need to belong results in two forms of attaching: joining a group or joining a family. The primary want is to belong to a family, but they may hold back from this and instead join a group. For those whose fear of rejection is greatest, joining a group of "rejects" is the safest course to follow.

> I found some other people that were fucked up just like me, so we went around together a lot and had fun.

The fun referred to consisted of doing drugs and stealing. Another man joined a group of drinkers:

> The good part was drinking. Sure it was nice to be around your friends and stuff, but in fact a lot of times I felt alone, like I don't know, I didn't feel part of it, till I got drunk. Like I have to be good and, on my way to getting drunk, anyhow. Then I felt part of it.

Under the influence of either drugs or alcohol, "I could feel better about myself" and belonging needs were met. Thus by joining other Outsiders one can become part of a group and an Insider. Belonging in this fashion only partly fulfills the need to belong, and is not sufficient to fill the gaps. The overriding wish of the developing pedophile is always to belong to a family.

Joining a family can also take several forms. You can get married and start your own, you can join a ready-made family, such as a single mother who has several children, or you can associate with an existing family by spending all your time with them. This becomes more important in Stage Three when pedophilic behavior begins. The age of joining another family may vary, and for some starts in childhood when they virtually live at someone else's house, or request permission from another family to live with them.

The effect of belonging is that you count, you are somebody, you have a means of identification, visible to others and to yourself. An obvious example is carrying a

membership card, which you can use for identification and admission; it is a way of identifying who you are to others, of claiming identity and a place. The effect of belonging to a family is having a source of love, praise, affirmation, and a sense of a worthwhile identity. It provides a context for the self. The importance of having a context is further described in the next condition, the condition of Depending.

Depending

> Like I've always wanted to have a family. Like, to that, somebody to belong to. That just never happened. I've got some friends. I've got some friends, but they're sort of, they're friends, but, they're fairly close, but there still seems to be a distance there.

The adult of Stage Two who is attempting to attach himself to others is in a dependent position. He is dependent upon others for filling the gaps in his development in the same manner that a child is dependent on his family. It is only others, the Insiders, who can make the Outsider feel good and give him a sense of self-worth. It is only by being accepted into a family that he can feel he is acceptable. It is only others who can define what he is. In this sense he is dependent upon his environment for a definition of who he is, a situation that becomes of primary importance in

Stage Three[1]. The environment determines his sense of self and of self-worth, and this changes with each new context. This adult is very fearful of being alone, since without a context he has no self-definition.

Building ideals

The idealistic way of thinking that was developed in childhood now serves to build ideals of what it means to be a man. Gender roles are seen in terms of ideals, a stereotyped view of what a man should be, and what a woman should be. They look for perfection in their partners, in their marriages, and in their families, and at the same time they are painfully aware of their own lacks, their own worthlessness. This will be referred to further in the discussion of Contexts. This condition of course serves to contribute to the eventual failures.

Mistrusting

> I couldn't see how people could be friends with me? Like all the friends I had, all I thought was they wanted to use me. The same thing with my wife. She tried so hard to show she loved me, but I didn't believe her. Like all the years we've been together, it's like testig and testing.

There is a mistrust of all adults, whether they are male or female. There is a belief that no one would possibly want to be friends with them if they knew what

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[1]Maslow (1968) also notes this in his description of deficiency motivated people.

they were really like, behind the front. The presented self is always a false self, so the motives of others become suspect; friends are distrusted, wives who say I love you are not believed. Therefore, they are left with the question, what is it you want from me. You are using me for the money I bring in, for the house I can buy you, for the presents I give you. This results in a feeling of being used. And this feeling increases the feeling of being not good enough, as it undermines any feeling of self-worth.

Fearing

> I was jealous, very scared inside. She'd ask to go someplace, and, like she'd phone me up at work and say I want to go to the mall, and I'd say okay, but I was really scared, I was scared to let her go. She might meet another man, might find someone better than me. That was always in the back of my mind, like you're not good enough. You never will be.

The fear of failure, carried over from Stage One, is compounded by the presence of high ideals. With higher expectations, the likelihood of failure is greater. The expectations of having the perfect family, of being the perfect husband and father are in conflict with the inner awareness of being not good enough and also contributes to the eventual failure.

Contexts

The contexts of Stage Two have further relevance for the development of the pedophile. In addition to

requiring a context to define himself, the contexts may provide specific requirements of what he should be. Because he sees the world in terms of ideals and stereotypes, the ideals of adulthood and masculinity both exert a powerful influence over him. Thus adulthood and masculinity as concepts become contexts for Attaching. These will now be discussed separately.

Being an adult

Adulthood is a culturally defined role, with culturally defined expectations. The meaning of being an adult in this situation is to have responsibilities, to have a relationship, and to be intimate. These are part of the developmental tasks of adulthood (Erikson, 1968), and for the man who feels worthless and inadequate, all carry the threat of failure.

The strategy of holding back is employed in dealing with all three of the tasks of adulthood to various degrees, and may include only one or all three of the problems. An extreme example of a strategy designed to deal with both the problem of responsibility and the problem of relationships is the shaving off of all body hair, except for the scalp, as was shown by one participant:

> I remember once that I shaved all my hair, my armpits, everything, hair on my arms, my legs, it was a real turn on. Like even when I looked at my arms, I felt younger. Like I would shave my pubic hair and think, now at least I won't have to worry

> about trying to pick up a girl for a while. Like I would use that for an excuse. . . I wanted no responsibility of any sort.

Less extreme is the situation where one man, when offered a promotion on the job, avoided the responsibility and the threat of failure by quitting. Intimacy was avoided by all, since this would have required presenting their real selves, without a front, which would (for them) have guaranteed failure.

Being an adult in this stage may be a relative state, in that the person can feel more or less like an adult, depending on who he is with. Some may feel like an adult, but an inferior adult, when in the presence of other adults, and some may feel like a child. For these people it is only in relation to a child that they can feel like an adult.

> When somebody would be talking about spending time with the girls or girlfriends, you know, well, a lot of adults would be talking about what they did with their girlfriends, wives. I couldn't come out and say anything like that. Because I wouldn't be able to tell them how it was for me. I just wasn't, it wasn't the right thing with me.

Being a male

Similar to the concept of adulthood, the concept of being male is culturally determined (Fracher & Kimmel, 1987). In addition to this cultural ideal of what a man is, the stereotypical thinking employed and the ideals held combine to set up an image of what a man is that

becomes difficult to fulfill. And for these men the task is impossible.

The potential pedophile attempts to be a man, a perfect man. In this stage this means being a good provider, being a good worker, being a good lover, being the family problem solver, having money, and being able to handle anything, all the aspects of the social role of being a man.

> There was a year when I was really, that's where I was really possessive and everything, and I took all of our problems on my shoulders. Like I was the man in the family. And I was taught that men in the family look after the ladies, and we're supposed to pay the bills, and everything else. . . Like I felt really terrible, because I couldn't, I didn't seem to bring enough money in. And we could never do much things, and I didn't like that. . . I wasn't feeling good about myself. You know I couldn't supply the family with things, and any problem that came up I'd say don't worry about it I'll look after it, and yet I wasn't looking after it. They were just piling up.

The cost of putting on a show of success may result in being deeply in debt, as was the case for two of the men.

The man in this situation can never live up to the ideals he has set for himself; he feels inadequate as a man--not enough money, not enough things, and not good enough in bed. The sense of inadequacy that began in childhood is compounded by the view he holds of what it means to be a man. Being a man now becomes a role to be played and it becomes part of putting up a front. It

must be kept up for an audience consisting of an internal audience of the self, where one is constantly being evaluated, and an external audience which includes other men[2].

Strategies

Holding back

> I don't feel I'm smart enough to converse with people on certain subjects. So therefore I don't for fear of embarrassment. Or I will bluff my way through. Make it sound like I know what they're talking about. But if it gets too deep, I'll opt out rather than, because, I don't know why, but I have a fear of embarrassment. There is nothing worse than being embarrassed.

Holding back as a strategy to avoid failure was introduced and discussed in Stage One. It continues as a primary strategy in Stage Two. The response to stress or conflict is to hold back, rather than to deal with it, change, or grow. It can be a holding back from adulthood, holding back from responsibilities, such as quitting a job rather than taking a promotion, or holding back from a relationship, such as living common-law rather than getting married, or avoiding them altogether.

If you hold back, and then fail, you can blame the failure on the fact that you didn't try, and your self can not be blamed, your self is saved from being

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[2]For the importance of being masculine with other men see Heppner & Gonzales (1987).

devalued. If you are in a relationship and hold back, and then the relationship fails, then the same reasoning applies. Although a perfect marriage was desired by all, most held back and lived common-law.

Holding back as a strategy contributes to feelings of isolation. One cannot relate to peers, to other men, without fear of disclosing one's inadequacies, whether sexual or other, such as a lack of education, a lack of masculine skills (a knowledge of hunting and fishing, a knowledge of cars, mechanics). One can either avoid situations which require such participation, or one can keep quiet and thus avoid revealing inadequacies.

Putting up a front

> I always looked to myself as a dummy. I couldn't learn and it really had an effect on me because I had to, in order to survive, I had to put a big front on like I could read and write to get a job. And I really put a good front on because I became assistant manager of a restaurant. And I really must have put a good front on to get that job, not being able to read or write.

The lack of a sense of self and a feeling of emptiness, combined with the fears of failure and rejection, lead to the strategy of putting up a front. Putting up a front is looking good to the world by projecting an ideal image. This can range from putting up a front to meet a specific situational demand to putting up a front as a way of living.

In a specific situation, the front of literacy may

be used to get a job. As a way of living, it is an ongoing show of covering up inadequacies. This is described as follows:

> I always thought I was a failure in everything. I used to dress up in nice clothes, always drive around in fancy cars, always had nice cars, fancy clothes, but I felt like shit inside. Like my whole life was just a big show. It's like wearing a thousand dollar suit and having a pair of dirty underwear full of holes. That's how I felt.

It is acting out the role of the perfect male by being a good provider and worker and having the material things to show as proof of competency in the role. Putting up a front is a strategy designed to prevent others from seeing the real self, the inferior self and thus is a protective strategy.

The front is not merely a front to protect the self that is hiding behind it, but in some cases the front is all there is--there is no self behind it. Since the self is in flux and is context dependent, the front becomes the reality as long as it is accepted.

Living behind a front eliminates the possibility of intimacy in relationships. If one became intimate, the real inferior self would be found out and rejection would follow. Intimacy is a relationship between peers, and the man in this position of playing a role cannot be a peer in a relationship. This lack of feeling like a peer can be of two forms: lack of equality in age, in

that he feels like a child inside, or lack of equality in worth, in that he feels inferior to other adults.

Consequences

The conditions of this stage combined with the contexts that exist and the strategies that are carried out result in failure and in a self in a state of flux. These two consequences mark the transition from Stage Two to Stage Three.

Failure varies in amount and extent. For some, one single failure experience is sufficient to initiate Stage Three, and for others an accumulation of failures is required for a build-up to an unacceptable level for this transition to begin. A critical incident may occur to act as a trigger for the transition.

Failing

Although failure occurs in a number of areas and in a number of ways, the primary failure is a failure of Attaching, a failure to belong. The goal was to have a family. Feelings of worthlessness, fears of failure and rejection, the strategies of holding back and putting up a front all may contribute to the failure of achieving this goal.

Feelings of worthlessness may prevent an individual from attempting to establish a relationship:

> I didn't feel I was worthy of having a relationship. I always felt inside of me that I was no good. No self-confidence in myself. And

> why would anybody want to get involved with me, or what would they see in me. I could never see nothing.

Fears of failure and rejection may prevent the establishment of, or may cause the failure of, a relationship. The man who fears rejection and being alone may exert controls over his family to such an extent that he alienates them and the relationship is then ended.

The strategy of holding back, in addition to preventing the establishment of a relationship, may also work to cause the relationship to fail. Although they all said "I always wanted to be married," only one man in fact was married, and the others lived in common-law relationships.

The failures may also vary in type of failure. It may be the primary failure of attaching, of being accepted, as in one participant's attempt at age eight to be accepted into his cousin's family. It may be a critical incident which triggers the transition, such as having a vasectomy, which occurred for another man after a series of other failures: the failure of two previous common-law marriages, and the failure at being an adequate provider. The vasectomy was seen as a failure at being a man. In general, more than one type of failure is involved, and an accumulation of incidents

is required before the situation becomes critical and Stage Three is initiated. The failure may not necessarily be an actual failure: it may be an expected failure that prevents even an attempt at establishing a relationship. For example, the participant quoted on the previous page knew that no woman would see anything in him, and so did not even attempt it. So the failure is a projected failure, and takes place internally.

The self as context dependent

> My best asset to me is my personality, when it comes to business. Outside of business, I'm very unsure of myself. I can talk to anybody that comes into my store, but I can't go up and talk to strangers in the street. . . . Like I would drive around the city for two hours looking for a place rather than stop and ask someone, because I don't want them to think I'm stupid. . . . The difference is phenomenal, really, when I think about it. Women aren't so bad, so far as, because, I guess, I deal with women more than men, they shop far more. And you don't lack conversation because what women are going to talk about, and it's a lot of prices and buying, and I can converse with them quite easily. And I think the worst part is when it comes to manly things like cars, fishing, hunting. I don't hunt or fish. I don't think I've caught ten fish in my life.

The sense of self as being unacceptable began in Stage One with the feeling of worthlessness. In Stage Two this feeling of being worthless and unacceptable is confirmed and increased. Attempts to attach and belong have failed. The self is in a state of flux and is dependent on others for feelings of worthiness and for a sense of identity.

Identity itself is in flux, as this also is context dependent, such as feeling like a child relative to an adult, or like an adult in relation to a child. Being a man in this situation is more of an attempt to play the role of a man, to portray what is expected, than a reality. The extreme example of this is the participant who said, "sometimes I didn't know if I was supposed to be a boy or a girl." The failure to attach in this stage leaves the person literally floating free and undefined.

7. Stage Three: Realizing a Self

> I always kept telling myself that I wasn't doing good enough. . . . With the girls I felt that I could please them, I was teaching them something. I was kind of at their level, sort of thing, kind of accepted, you know . . . I didn't have to prove nothing to them.

Stage Three is the stage of Realizing a Self. It is a variation of Stage Two: Attaching, and is a consequence of both Stage One and Stage Two. It is similar to Stage Two in that the same goals exist as they did in Attaching, namely to enter into a context that will meet one's emotional needs, that will provide a sense of belonging and acceptance, and that give one an acceptable definition of the self. This resulted in failure in Stage Two, and an increase in the overall gaps that began in Stage One. The potential pedophile thus enters Stage Three with a bigger emotional deficit than he has had so far. See Table III on the next page for an overview of this stage. The previous strategies of holding back and putting up a front are unchanged in this stage, and so will not be discussed anew. The essential difference in this stage from the previous stage is a change in the defining context of the self from adult to child.

This stage has great variation in durability. It lasts as long as the pedophile is successful at

maintaining the relationship with the child and at keeping himself unaware of any sense of wrongdoing. This varies for individuals from one incident of pedophiling to a long term relationship, such as one informant had for a period of one and a half years.

Table III

Overview of Stage Three: Realizing a self

Conditions	Contexts	Strategies	Consequences
failing	the child gender	holding back putting up a front	being accepted being a man

The pedophiles separate into two types at this point, the inadequate-adults and the child-adults. The inadequate-adults are those who go down one level to meet the child as a peer, and the child-adults are those who already feel themselves to be at the level of the child. The two groups, besides differing in their relationship to the child, also differ in their wants and fears. The first group, those who go down one level to meet the child, focuses on wanting "to be somebody," whereas the second group focuses on wanting "to be

accepted." These two goals are interrelated, as the state of being accepted guarantees identity and belonging: a sense of Being. Both groups want both things, but the primacy of the wants differs. The second difference between the two groups is that the inadequate-adult is most afraid of failure, and the child-adult is most afraid of rejection.

Thus, those pedophiles who are inadequate-adults are afraid of failing and choose to go down to the level of the child, and those who are child-adults are afraid of rejection, and therefore associate with a child, since the child is seen as a peer and is already at their level and is less likely to reject him.

Conditions

Failing was the consequence of Stage Two, and becomes the condition of Stage Three. It has already been described as a consequence in the previous section, so will be summarized briefly here as a condition for this stage.

Failing

> We kind of grew apart. Like I had my friends, she had her baseball friends. I had the restaurant, where I wasn't home much because I was working double shifts. . . . She wasn't working. She hadn't worked for almost a year. And she was dependent on me. But it just got out of hand. I really didn't, I felt like I was being taken advantage of. Like I always felt that way. . . . I felt like she was using me. Like I bought the car for her. I bought everything. A VCR. She wanted a VCR so I bought it for her because she wanted to

> watch a VCR and that's all she did. She wasn't working. . . . We decided to call it quits. And part of it was me. She didn't like what I was doing. She wanted me to go to school. She wanted me to get a driver's license. And I wouldn't do that. And I just, we kind of more or less gave up.

The condition of failure that resulted from attempts to attach in Stage Two results in increased feelings of being unacceptable and increased needs to fill the emotional voids. The failures center around relationships, in the sense of being unacceptable, and the masculine role, in the sense of being an inadequate male and different from other men. These two factors are interrelated, in that feeling inadequate as a male will lead to fears of being unacceptable, and feeling unacceptable leads to fears of being inadequate as a male.

> She wanted to move so we did. We rented a new home right by the ocean. That wasn't enough. She wanted to build a house, or buy a new one. And there was a new house in the next street. A brand new home, and she wanted to buy it. Didn't have the money. So we bought it anyway. But it seemed like, you know, I want this, and I want that. Just again like I was being used. Anyway, we moved into our new house. It was a beautiful home overlooking the ocean. It was fantastic, the view and that. Really nice. But then she said to me, she said well, you know, we don't want any more kids now. We have the perfect family. And I said, yeah, I know you don't want any more kids now, and she said maybe you should think of going in for a vasectomy. I didn't really want to, you know. You hear so many things, talk about hardening of the arteries, and all this. And I really didn't want to go. She said, well you just might have to, because we don't really want any more kids. We don't really want any more kids. It really wasn't me. . . . Went in and had it done. I went to work, and the guys were

> bugging me about having a vasectomy. . . . I'd come into the shop and they'd say hey, they'd change their voice, make it sound really feminine. They'd say this is what happens after you get a vasectomy. It would bug me. . . . And it's never worked since then. I think we lasted a year after that.

Of particular importance is failure in the male role. The term performance failure generally denotes failure at sexual performance, but for the pedophile performance failure includes failure at all aspects of the male role. It means not having enough, whether it be penis size, income, competence, or the ability to handle responsibility. So the fears of failure can be seen as revolving around fear of failure at being a man. As Kimmel (1987) notes, referring to sexual performance, "performance failure can challenge the essence of masculinity, can confront men with the possibility that they are not `real men'" (p. 19). For the pedophile this results in a further loss of identity, with a greater dependence on a defining context.

Contexts

The child

> With my first victim we got so close, like a father and son relationship. Friends. And the thing I found too was I sunk to his level. I was a twelve year old like he was twelve. When he was thirteen I was thirteen. I was acting just like him. Even his mother said that when I got arrested. She said that we were like two little boys.

The pedophile initiates Stage Three by changing his defining context from that of adults to that of

children. Since he is context dependent, and his previous attempts to attach himself to a context have failed, he now switches contexts. The pedophile describes this as "going down to their level." He switches from adults to children, and from a family group to an individual person. In this sense he is repeating his pattern of holding back and cutting down the risk of failure. This switch in contexts meets the goals of Attaching: he now feels accepted, he has a sense of belonging, and he feels that he is someone. By changing the context from adult to child, the pedophile can define himself as better than he was before. Relative to the child he is more adult, he is acceptable, he is competent, he is adequate, and he is "a real man." Thus, if association with age peers leads to increased awareness of inferiority, then association with younger individuals leads to a decrease in inferiority and an increase in superiority. More specifically, association with a child leads to an increase in the sense of identity.

Gender

Being a man was described in Stage Two as part of the culturally defined context for the potential pedophile, and thus as a social role. In this Stage, being a man becomes more important, and has more

relevance for the pedophile who is attempting to define a sense of self. Identity is not only defined by roles as it was in the previous stage (the roles of being a provider, having a family, having a relationship) but now becomes centered on gender identity itself, what it means to be a man and what it means to be different from other men. In this sense the child who was an Outsider and different from other children is now the adult who is an Outsider and different from other men.

> All my sexual experiences I always thought I was too small. Like always reading Penthouse or Playboy, you see these men with, you know, quite big. And I just never compared, I was never that big or that good or something.

Being a man is now concerned strictly with sexual performance, rather than such things as being a good provider and a good husband.

Sexuality. Being different from other men covers all spheres of stereotypical male expertise, from knowledge of mechanics, cars, hunting and fishing, to skills at problem solving, financial status, providing for a family, and sexual performance. During Stage Two failure was experienced in all these areas. During Stage Three, efforts at reclaiming a sense of self are focused on sexual performance, since a basic element of masculinity is sexuality. This is explained by Fracher and Kimmel (1987), who describe the relationship

of masculinity and sexuality[1] as follows:

> If sexuality is socially constructed, perhaps the most significant element of the construction--the foundation upon which we construct our sexuality--is gender. For men, the notion of masculinity, the cultural definition of manhood, serves as the primary building block of sexuality. It is through our understanding of masculinity that we construct a sexuality, and it is through our sexualities that we confirm the successful construction of our gender identity. Gender informs sexuality; sexuality confirms gender. Thus men have much at stake when they confront a sexual problem: They risk their self-images as men. (p. 86-87)

Sexuality can thus be used to construct and confirm a sense of gender identity, and in the case of the pedophile, can be used to construct and confirm identity per se as well, since the question is not only the lack of identity as a male but also the lack of identity as an individual. For the pedophile, masculinity equals sexuality, and therefore the reverse then is also true: to be sexual equals being a man. Often the word sex itself is taken to mean gender, thus illustrating how closely these concepts are linked. Sexuality is an

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[1]see also Kimmel (1987); Tiefer (1987).

expression of masculinity, and if one's masculinity is in doubt, one can shore it up by becoming more sexual, thus becoming, in a way, more masculine. By associating with a child, the pedophile becomes more masculine as well as more adult.

To perform as a man provides acceptance and status among other men. For most men, this can be acquired in the work place, through "man" talk. But the pedophile cannot contribute to man talk, and thus cannot acquire acceptance and status there. This becomes circular, because once they initiate sexual contact with a child, they cannot talk about these activities. Before contact with a child is made, they also cannot contribute to these stories, due to their feelings of inadequacy, their avoidance of failure strategies, and their fear of being found out as an imposter.

For the pedophile in Stage Three, the primary pedophile as opposed to the secondary pedophile in Stage Four, sexuality enters into the relationship with the child after the relationship has already been established. The relationship may be of a fairly long duration before the adult initiates sexual contact. The sex is then used to increase the relationship:

> I'm not sure about the others so much, but the last one, for me it was more like a love relationship, like a girlfriend, my girl. I felt there was someone there who really cared for me, showed caring, and I was doing it too. But I went beyond

> the limits. I carried it too far. The caring, for me, wasn't enough. I wasn't satisfied with just the caring part. I felt there was more. By showing how much more I cared was by, by sex. You know, by love. I was thinking well I love her and the only way to show how much I love her was to play around, fool around, show her that I'm interested.

This is different in the fourth stage, where the sexual component becomes primary. At this stage, it is not primary, it is merely the means to other goals.

For men who habitually see the world in stereotypes and symbols, sex is a symbol of masculinity and of gender, and in fact sex and gender are one and the same. For the pedophile it becomes the symbol of identity. Being admired for having a penis, according to one man, made him feel like "a real man:"

> If the subject would come up if someone was found cheating on their wife or what have you, or cheating on the husband, I can remember telling my wife sometimes, if she ever did and I found out, there would be no second chance. But I know why I said it, because in my mind, if she ever found out what a real man was like, I'd be gone. . . And with the boys, I had the feeling of, I guess that I was somebody. That I wasn't different than the other men because they didn't know how big a penis their dad had or what have you. And they said I had a large penis; it made me feel good.

Sexuality is a socially constructed set of behaviors and cognitions, the result of a socialization process more than the result of a biological process (Fracher & Kimmel, 1987). According to Gagnon and Simon (1973), "social roles are not vehicles for the expression of

sexual impulse but that sexuality becomes a vehicle for expressing the needs of social roles" (p. 45). And the social role of a man is to be sexually active.

Intimacy. Intimacy as an element of a sexual relationship lacks a clear definition in the literature (Perlman & Fehr, 1987), with Morris (1971, p. 9) at the extreme end of the range stating that "intimacy occurs whenever two individuals come into bodily contact." Other elements of intimacy are warmth and closeness. For the pedophile in this stage these three elements--bodily contact, warmth and closeness--are all important components of the relationship with the child. Closeness is stated strictly in physical terms, in spatial terms, so that closeness is a physical dimension rather than an emotional element. Physical closeness is equated with emotional closeness, and bodily contact is equated with emotional warmth.

> The warmth, if somebody was there close to me. Because then they would seem to, to me they would seem to want to spend time with me. I was, a chance to be closer to, like, not so much as, you don't have that alone feeling. . . . I was lonely for loving wise. You know. Like I've had friends, good friends and that, but friends are just friends, and I never was, never felt all that close, really close to them. I don't know, how do you explain it, the feeling I had with the younger girls was more, uh, loving feeling, than it would be with ordinary friends. Friends are just friends.

Intimacy can only be achieved with peers, and

requires the dropping of masks so that the true self is revealed and is then accepted by the other person. Douglas and Atwell (1988) describe true intimacy as "the intuitively experienced sense of self" (p. 205). Intimacy results from closeness and produces feelings of warmth. For the pedophile, intimacy is the means for being accepted, and since he cannot show his real inadequate self to an age appropriate partner for fear of failure and rejection, and cannot consider himself to be a peer with an adult, he turns to the child. In being intimate with and accepted by a child (as he perceives it), he experiences a sense of self, and realizes an identity.

Consequences

For the pedophile in Stage Three the short-term consequences are feelings of being accepted, belonging, being somebody, and being a man. These may be summed up as having "a sense of being." These consequences are present for all the pedophiles in varying degrees, but the importance of each differs with the two types. The inadequate-adult pedophile wants most to be a man, and the child-adult wants most to be accepted. But these two wants are obviously closely related, since failure in being a man would lead to rejection, and thus

non-acceptance.

Being accepted

> He kind of filled the place of my fiancee, because he, we did things together, like a couple would do. We went out for supper. He'd always, I'd eat with my mouth open or something, and he'd tell me to eat with my mouth closed. Like he would remind me of things I was doing wrong and I would do the same thing to him. We built a really strong bond to each other. We could talk to each other about anything. I helped him out with a lot of things.

The pedophile is looking for acceptance, and has fantasies of being accepted as he is. Although the fantasies of the pedophile are sexual in content, they are essentially fantasies of being accepted:

> I felt I could please them, I was teaching them something. I was kind of at their level, sort of thing, that way. Kind of accepted, you know. Like I mean, accepted sort of thing. Like I was, they were accepting me, I didn't have to prove nothing to them. . . . My fantasy was to be able to do anything anytime, I was always looking for that. . . . My fantasies would be what I didn't do, like oral sex, intercourse when they got older, that was my ultimate goal; they'd still love me as a father.

For this informant, it meant not having to prove anything, being yourself. There are no standards to meet, no expectations to fulfill, and therefore no failure is possible.

Being accepted occurs only in the pedophile's perception of the experience, and only in his fantasies. Moreover, it may occur only intermittently, that is, while the pedophilic behavior is occurring. For some, there is no awareness of the unacceptability of their

actions in the eyes of other people, but for others, this awareness is always present whenever they are not pedophiling. Thus, the feeling of being unacceptable is increased, and therefore the need to eliminate this feeling is also increased proportionately.

Being a man

> But yet, today, thinking about it, I never had to prove nothing to R. (wife) either. She never told me I had to prove anything. Just to love her and stuff. But, it just didn't seem like enough. I wanted to give her the whole world. I wanted to give her everything I could. And today I was told, like you know, by my mom and dad, and other people, that I gave her lots of stuff. But I just didn't feel like I did. Like I didn't feel that I gave her enough love, I didn't give her enough material things and stuff. Even after I was assaulting I couldn't have sex with her, because I'd start fantasizing about M and that, doing what I wanted to do, and I couldn't keep an erection. Because I was ashamed.

Being a man is the core problem for the pedophile, and for him being a man means more than just being a male: It covers the existential concept of "being." And therefore, without a sense of being, there is nothingness. It is this nothingness that the pedophile is combatting, the emptiness that resulted from his childhood experiences.

Herek (1987) describes being a man as a crucial component of personal identity, and it is in this area that the pedophile is lacking. In the context of adult relationships, this lack is accentuated and even

confirmed, but in the context of a relationship with a child, by comparison, he is a man.

The child is the object of sex because he or she provides a safe context for acquiring a self-definition. There is no judgment involved, no fear of evaluation and no fear of being inadequate. Yet at the same time there is a tremendous contradiction involved here, in that having sex with a child is safe, and at the same time it is very risky, because the price is going to jail. The pedophile does the unacceptable in order to get accepted. But what is gained is an identity: a short term positive identity followed by a long term negative identity, as will be discussed in Stage Four.

One informant in particular may be considered as an example of a successful pedophile. He had a relationship of a year and a half with a twelve year old boy that he was supremely happy with. He considered himself to be in love with the boy, and considered the relationship to be like that of a couple. It gave him everything he wanted, which he described as companionship, sharing, mutuality, and love. During this time he was also successful at his work, he was successful in the community with his position at a service club, and did volunteer work. In addition, he had many friends, and was close to the family and the

mother of the boy involved. Until he was arrested, he considered himself to be a successful, loving, caring, helping person. He had acquired, through pedophiling, an identity, what he called "a sense of being."

8. Stage Four: Maintaining a Self

> I lost a lot of my, a lot of my pride. Not pride, it was more my sense of being that I've had. . . . I see myself as very, very fragile, very fragile. At times I feel I'll fall apart.

In Stage Four the problem for the pedophile becomes that of maintaining a sense of self. In Stage Three a self was realized through sexual contact with a child, enabling him to become both acceptable and a man. However, being accepted by the child is an illusion, and results in failure when social and legal sanctions are imposed. But the goal of being a man was realized.

In this stage, this activity of Realizing a Self is altered by a change in the context from the child to that of sex itself. Where before the context of the child allowed the pedophile to see himself as both a man and as accepted, the context of sex allows the pedophile to maintain the image of himself as a man. See Table IV for an overview of this stage.

The pedophile of Stage Three was described as being a primary pedophile, whose main objective was to be accepted as a man, and who did not necessarily have a primary sexual attraction to children. The pedophile of Stage Four is a secondary pedophile, in that now the sexual component of the interaction becomes a motivator in itself. This occurs in two ways: first, the sexual

attraction to children becomes established, and the pedophile prefers children as the stimulus for sexual arousal, and second, the sexual component becomes the context for self definition. He has become sexually attracted to children. This sexual attraction is a factor that is not a replacement for the factors in Stage Three, but is an additive factor. The secondary pedophile still wishes to be accepted and to be a man, but now he also wishes to have sexual contact with the child. Thus the difference between the primary pedophile and the secondary pedophile is that the sexual component has changed from being the means to being a man within the context of the child, to being the context itself for being a man.

Table IV

Overview of Stage Four: Maintaining a self

Condition	Context	Strategies	Consequence
failing succeeding	sex	keeping up a front	being a man

Conditions

In this stage, as in the previous stages, all conditions and strategies of previous stages are carried forward and the defining contexts are cut back. With the failure of each stage there is an increase in the emotional gaps and a decrease in the sense of self. The strategies of holding back and putting up a front continue to be the only methods for dealing with problems. In fact, the progression through the stages itself is a process of holding back and cutting it down, as the contexts change from adults to children to sex, from families to individuals, and from relationships over time to one-time contacts.

Failing

> I lost a lot of friends. I lost a lot of my, a lot of my pride. Not pride, it was more my sense of being that I've had. I mean I had everything. I had a good job, I was well liked by my friends, all those people at the ---- (service group) when I was there. I was well respected. I was high up in the ---- . I really did a lot of volunteer work and I did a lot. And I lost all of that because they took my membership away because of what I had done. And it really bothered me because I felt I didn't do it there. None of my assaults happened at the ---- . It had nothing to do with any kids at the ---- . I just felt I was really being punished for something that I did which was right. I just felt they took everything away. They took my life. It was my life, my work. They took it away.

Again the pedophile's attempts at being accepted and acceptable fail. With awareness of the unacceptability of his actions, either through his own

perceptions or through the reaction of others, he is once again a failure, and is unacceptable as a person. As a result of being labelled a pedophile, either by the individual himself or by society, all the conditions of childhood are reinforced. He is once again an Outsider, a deviant, and is unacceptable and unworthy as a person. Legal and social sanctions are imposed, and he may lose his job, his friends, his family, his social status, and go to jail. There is no questioning the fact that he is unacceptable.

Succeeding

> On the way home I went through this schoolground. I met these two kids in the road. I started asking them if they'd let me see them for five dollars, and I didn't expect them to agree, because nothing ever happened before. But they agreed. I got to see them, and that's when I really found myself wanting more. So I asked them if I gave them another five dollars would they let me touch them. They said they would, and then, that was that. I said would they like to do it again, like maybe tomorrow. They said sure and after that it was all the time. They both were twelve. . . . And then it got into more money all the time and it go into doing more things. And we were doing it in places where, behind garbage cans, anywhere we could find where nobody could see us. And finally it got up to, it got into thirty dollars at the end. And I felt he liked it. I felt he was enjoying it. He wanted the money. I didn't think he wanted the money more. I see that now. Before I thought he wanted it. He was enjoying what was happening. I felt he liked it more because he was twelve years old and I made him come.

Despite failing in being an acceptable person, the pedophile has succeeded in his second goal, that of

being a man. He has succeeded in this by cutting down his definition of what it means to be a man. In Stage Two, this definition of being a man was a social definition, and pertained to the social roles such as being a good husband and a good provider. In Stage Three, this definition was reduced to being sexual, and in this he succeeded.

Pedophiling is typically a masculine activity, since there are far fewer female molesters, and it is also masculine in the negative sense that it is not feminine. There is even a masculine social role that fits, that of the dirty old man, and roles in literature such as Aschenbach in Thomas Mann's Death in Venice and Humbert Humbert in Nabokov's Lolita. He also becomes sexually aroused, a proof of masculinity: "I got quite a rush out of them thinking I was somebody." He further increases his sense of being a man by having more than one sexual relationship. His contacts with children may number into the hundreds. In this respect he has met one of his goals, and has realized a self.

Context

Sex

> An older child like fourteen or fifteen I had no interest in at all. And I think it is partially because of low self-esteem. My penis is not very large, and with a young kid fondling me, which is another thing, that them fondling me was a bigger charge than me fondling them. And, uh, when they would comment on what a large penis I had, and to

them it was, that felt good.

In this stage, sex itself becomes the context that is used by the pedophile to define himself. Sex as a context means that sex is seen as the equivalent of manhood, as the equivalent of being a man. For the pedophile, with his stereotypical thinking, all the myths of what it means to be a man have a powerful influence. These myths center around sexual performance, with the bottom line being that if you can perform sexually, you qualify as a man. So now the pedophile defines himself as a sexual man, which is different from his earlier attempts to define himself as a social man.

By changing his self-defining context from a child to sex, the self is pared down to a sexual being, and the self becomes equated with sex. In the earlier stages it was important to be a social man, to be somebody in the eyes of others; now it is important to be a sexual man in his own eyes. The process is one of a continual paring down to the essential element of masculinity, namely sexuality. In relating himself to the context of sex, the pedophile can be successful at being a man, regardless of the social and legal consequences.

Strategies

Keeping up a front.

Putting up a front continues to be a major strategy, and is now keeping up a front. It is used in this stage to maintain a sense of self. Keeping up a front in the earlier stages dealt with inadequacies, and was aimed primarily at an audience of others. In this stage keeping up a front is aimed at the self as much as it is at others to deal with the problem of being deviant. Keeping up a front includes rationalizing, denying, and minimizing, and various cognitive distortions such as believing "she wanted it," and "I thought he was enjoying it."

An example of keeping up a front is contacting the child's family after release from a hospital treatment program or prison. This is done in order to maintain contact, both with the family and with the child, and to create a good impression and to be thought well of. The aim of this version of the strategy is to be accepted. Thus, the earlier goals of wanting to be associated with a family (Stage Two) and wanting to be accepted (Stage Three) still exist. Two of the informants made contact with the parents of the child immediately upon release from the treatment program. As one man said:

> I could talk to his mother just like she was my mother. Also I really felt close to her . . . And I felt OK talking to her because I wanted her to

> know the truth, what really happened, because B. didn't tell her. He didn't tell her anything. I wanted her to know . . . Maybe she thought it wasn't that bad.

Another way of keeping up a front is the rationalization of teaching:

> When I was young I was never taught anything about sex. So this way here I'd be able to teach somebody else so they won't grow up the way I grew up not knowing nothing . And then later on through the years they'd be dumb about it. So this way here I'd teach them when they were younger and then they would get a head start.

One of the sexual beliefs of many men is that it is the responsibility of the man to teach and lead his partner to orgasm (Tiefer, 1987), and taking on a teacher role is common for pedophiles. This role of teacher reflects more than the keeping up of a front. It also maintains or enhances self-esteem, and is a means of making connections and of affiliating.

Consequence

Being a man

> And with the boys, I had the feeling of, I guess, that I was somebody. That I wasn't different than the other men because they didn't know how big a penis their dad had or what have you. And they said I had a large penis. It made me feel good.

The end result of the four stages of pedophilia is that the Self which was realized in Stage Three is maintained, despite the final social ostracism. He can continue to experience himself as a man. This is achieved by the changing of the defining context from

the child to the sexual, a necessary step following the failure of having the self accepted. With the only partial success of realizing an identity, a further reduction became necessary in order to gain success. This required the elimination of the context of the child, just as previously the context of the family was eliminated. Thus the maintaining of the self is the culmination of a progressive reduction in contexts by individuals who are dependent upon a context for self definition.

9. Discussion

Introduction

Because pedophiles are a heterogeneous group, and no identifying traits have been found, researchers have assumed that they must divide them up into smaller groups in order to find factors that each group has in common within itself. Existing theories have tended to focus on one specific theme as an explanatory factor, such as the need for dominance and control or the fear of women. These theories have failed to provide satisfactory explanations of pedophilia, and have failed to account for the variation seen among pedophiles. This has led some theorists, such as Howells (1981), to warn against attempts to develop a unified theory of pedophilia. Howells writes that:

> It is no longer reasonable for researchers and theorists to propose a theory of pedophilia. Pedophilic persons and pedophilic incidents are heterogeneous. As many theories will be required as there are types of person and types of incident. Although we do not yet know with any certainty how many types need to be defined, nor which classificatory dimension will prove most useful, work to date indicates that distinctions on the basis of sexual preference mediation, aggressive motivation and sex of the child may facilitate attempts at explanation and may also have some predictive and therapeutic value. (p. 86)

Because this present study has attempted to do precisely that which Howells says cannot be done, that is,

challenge the existing assumptions about theories of pedophilia and develop a unified theory, the assumptions need to be examined. These are a) the presence of personality traits specific to pedophiles, b) the deviant nature of the act, and c) the sexual nature of the act.

Personality traits. The first assumption is that the pedophile has a specific personality which leads him, most likely in combination with other factors such as situational stressors, to become a pedophile. Research has therefore focused on determining, through ever more rigorous studies and dividing and subdividing the pedophile into types and subtypes, what these personality traits are. Although pedophilia is seen as social behavior (Lang et al, 1988), this aspect has not been the focus of research, with the exception of sociologists such as Plummer (1975) and Gagnon and Simon (1967), who study deviancy itself, rather than pedophilia. Because the grounded theory method is based on symbolic interactionism, which holds that the meaning of events for participants arises out of interaction, and that the actor also interacts with himself to create meaning, the focus of this study has been on behavior, rather than on personality traits. This focus on behavior is a focus on process, patterns of behavior

that lead to change over a period of time. Therefore, the assumption of pedophilia as resulting from a combination of personality traits is not relevant for a grounded theory approach.

Deviancy. The second assumption prevalent in the studies of pedophilia is that the behavior is deviant. Having sexual contact with children is obviously not an acceptable behavior; it is considered deviant by all social, moral, and legal standards. But in considering the deviant aspects of pedophilia, attention is focused on searching for "deviant" elements of the pedophile, notably in personality assessments and physiological responses to sexual stimuli. What has been ignored as a result of this approach is that pedophilia, although a deviant sexual behavior, is still a sexual behavior and therefore a variation of normal sexual behavior. As Bigus, Hadden and Glaser (1979) point out, both normal behavior and deviant behavior must be seen as two consequences of the same basic process. That normative factors are at work is also suspected by Finkelhor (1984). Therefore, rather than searching for that which is abnormal, the grounded theorist looks for that which accounts for both the abnormal and the normal through the same process.

Sex. The third assumption concerns the sexual

nature of pedophilia. This assumption is not shared by all researchers in the same way, but shows variations of the same theme, and generally in a subtle manner. Langevin (1985) mentions that assumptions about pedophiles are based on the needs of the average man, and thus this assumption is generally a masculine-centered view. For example, in studies discussing the unassertive nature of the pedophile, his fears are discussed in terms of fear of women, and more specifically as a fear of women in a sexual context, rather than as a fear of adults, which includes both men and women. Pedophiles are seen as males first, rather than as persons. This would follow naturally from the fact that most pedophiles are men, and that not only are there fewer women, but there are far fewer women available for study, and at this point there are no studies focused on female pedophiles. Thus by viewing pedophiles primarily as males, and also by primarily male researchers, conclusions and speculations are apt to be colored in terms of a male sexual perspective.

A unitary theory of pedophilia

By switching the focus of research from unit to process, from the characteristics of a unit to the characteristics of a process, a single theory of pedophilia becomes a realistic possibility. The

assumption now is that normal processes are at work, that the basic process that accounts for normal sexuality also accounts for deviant sexuality, and that this core process accounts for all or most of the variation observed in the subjects under study. Thus, by focusing on process, the need to study different types of pedophiles no longer exists. With this switch in focus, the researcher looks for maximum variation in her subjects, rather than minimum variation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978). If subtypes such as the heterosexual versus the homosexual pedophile were examined separately, and processes discerned, these would be seen as subprocesses of a core process that would account for all or most of the variation of pedophilic types. Howells's approach would imply that a homosexual pedophile is essentially different from a heterosexual or a bisexual pedophile, and further, that a homosexual non-pedophile is essentially different from a heterosexual non-pedophile. With this approach a pedophile would be essentially different from other men, or even other people.

The role of gender

Gender as a concern of research in pedophilia has been of little interest. However, gender emerged as a central concept in this theory. The pedophile wants to

be a man, since being a man provides him with a sense of identity. Thus his concern is with gender roles. His strategies of holding back and putting up a front are designed to prevent failure in this role and to act out the stereotyped behaviors associated with being a man. This finding contradicts Howells (1981), who reports that gender role behavior is not directly relevant to pedophilia. Further contradictory findings are reported by Freund (Freund et al, 1974), who found higher masculinity in heterosexual pedophiles, and by Langevin (Langevin et al, 1985), who found higher femininity in some areas compared to controls. This last finding can be explained by the combination of the pedophile's strategy of putting up a front with his pattern of stereotypic thinking. In acting out a role, he acts out his conception of what it means to be a man, a stereotyped role, thus seeming more masculine than other men.

The presence of normal processes

The basic social psychological process in becoming a pedophile is the realization of a sense of self. As has been mentioned earlier, in studying deviancy, the same process must account for the normal behavior as well as the deviant behavior. The assumption in most studies of deviant behavior as fundamentally different

from "normal" behavior, as described by Bigus:

> Is so strong in some instances that the "cause" of certain types of nondeviant behavior are not even considered as pertinent sociological concern. Sociologists frequently interest themselves in the "causes" of homosexuality, for example, but seldom question the "causes" of ordinary heterosexuality, which is implicitly assumed to be "natural" and therefore presumably not of sociological concern. (Bigus, Hadden & Glaser, 1979, p. 269)

Because the focus in research is on finding pathology, the possibility of normal processes functioning in pedophilia has received little attention. Finkelhor (1984) also suspects the presence of normal processes, in that:

> The widespread existence of abuse forces one away from an exclusive focus on theories of psychopathology and toward the possibility that normative factors are at work. Widespread and conventional patterns of socialization and cultural transmission also play a part in creating sexual abusers. (p. 35)

With the finding that the basic process of pedophilia is an attempt to realize a self, a process that is present in people other than pedophiles, it becomes clearer that pedophilia is a variant of normal sexual behavior. The pedophile suffers from a lack of identity. In extrapolating to other situations where the non-deviancy of the behavior is accepted, the BSP is also found. The middle aged male in what is called the mid-life crisis, who develops a sexual relationship with a much younger woman, is essentially in an identity

crisis. It is through the sexual relationship that he attempts to redefine himself (Alapack, 1986). Thus pedophilia can be seen as one end of a continuum of behavior.

The non-sexual motivation of pedophilia

In this grounded theory, sex is the means for becoming a man; the motivation for becoming a pedophile is to be a man, and thus it is a non-sexual motivation. Even in the final stage, where the pedophile becomes sexually aroused by children, sex itself is not the exclusive motivator, but becomes the means to maintaining a sense of self. Other theorists have discussed non-sexual motivations, such as power and dominance (Groth, 1979; Groth & Burgess, 1977; Groth, Hobson & Gary, 1982; Howells, 1979, 1981; Sgroi, 1982), where the submissiveness of the child is the attraction. In the present study, power and dominance as motivators were not evident in the data, but these may be explained by the need to be a man, to give the appearance of being a man, and power and dominance as male characteristics are part of the male stereotype. The submissiveness of the child as the attracting element is explained by the idea that the child provides the context for enabling the pedophile to feel powerful, to feel like other men as he perceives them, rather than the child as being the

object for the exertion of power. It is the difference between the child as a source of feelings of power, and the child as being the object of feelings of power. Feminist theorists (Gebhard et al, 1965; Summit & Kryso, 1978) also see power and control as a factor, and stress the role of culture and socialization of males that leads them to be attracted to smaller weaker females, of which the child is the extreme example. Cultural and socializational factors are also important in the present theory, but with a different emphasis than the feminists view presents. Rather than socialization processes leading to an attraction to smaller and weaker females, the pedophile is concerned primarily with being a man, and holds culturally stereotypical views of what it means to be a man, and in the context of a child he can be so.

Another non-sexual motivation given for pedophilia is the idea that the lack of social skills and unassertiveness of the pedophile causes him to have a fear of adult women, and thus he turns to children to avoid fear of exposure of inadequacies and impotence (Glueck, 1956; Karpman, 1957; Storr, 1964; Swanson, 1968). Unassertiveness and poor social skills in pedophiles has received major attention, since this can be seen as a causal factor in pedophilia and is readily

observed in the pedophile. An inability to initiate and maintain relationships with women results in turning to a child as surrogate. Thus unassertiveness was found to be a factor in numerous studies, which have been reviewed by Howells (1981) and Finkelhor (1984).

The problems of unassertiveness and poor social skills in research on pedophilia are complicated by definitional problems, since these terms are inclusive of related issues such as inadequacy, socioeconomic factors, and levels of education and intelligence. Poor social skills (Cohen, Seghorn, & Calmas, 1969; Fisher, 1969; Fisher & Howell, 1970; Howells, 1981) may interact with other factors, such as drug or alcohol abuse (Lang et al, 1988). Although unassertiveness is generally mentioned as a factor, Langevin (Langevin et al, 1985) found that the pedophile is not unassertive, and in fact is more aggressive than controls on four measures. Lang, (Lang et al, 1988), however, points out that a lack of assertion skills is common to the criminal population in general.

Despite evidence to the contrary, one would expect both a lack of assertiveness and poor social skills to be factors in pedophilia from the point of view of the present theory. The fears of failure and rejection, and the general fearful attitudes of childhood, lead to

the strategy of holding back, a strategy which is incompatible with assertive strategies. The general isolation present in childhood, and the lack of peers which precludes social interactions and playing activities, would result in a lack of the development of good social skills. The pedophile avoids risk taking, and has not learned to deal with failures. It is in the activity of play that such skills are learned, as well as the skills necessary to relate successfully to others as an adult (Grunebaum & Solomon, 1980).

One point of difference from prevailing views, however, is that this lack of social skills results not only in a fear of women, but also a fear of men. This finding changes the focus of the fear away from a fear of women in a sexual context, with a fear of being found inadequate sexually, towards a fear of being found inadequate as a person, regardless of whether the supposed evaluator is male or female. Thus, it is true that he is afraid of appearing inadequate sexually, but the audience includes other males as well, and the fears of inadequacy include all areas of behavior, not only sexual behaviors.

Langevin's (1985) finding that pedophiles are in fact not unassertive, and are more aggressive than controls in some measures, contradictory to the common

perception of the pedophile, may have the following explanation: since the pedophile's main survival strategy is to put up a front of competence and masculinity, this would lead him to answer test questions with answers that would comply with his own view of what a man should be like. This would be consistent with his behaviors in other areas of his life. This explanation also holds true for the converse findings of the pedophile as unassertive, since putting up a front of nonassertion may also serve to meet the needs of being a model prisoner, a model patient, or a normal person.

Developmental processes and pedophilia

Realizing a Self as a theory of pedophilia describes the process of becoming a pedophile and of remaining a pedophile. It demonstrates the development of that process from childhood through adulthood, and the factors which affect each stage and upon which the progression is contingent. In this developmental process it becomes clear that emotional maturation is hindered (the inadequate-adult) or does not occur (the child-adult). This lack of maturity is also seen in theories of pedophilia which cite emotional or mental retardation or problems in psychosocial or psychosexual development (Bancroft, 1978; Finkelhor, 1984; Groth,

1978; Groth, Hobson, & Gary, 1982; Hammer & Glueck, 1957; Mohr, Turner, & Jerry, 1964; Revitch & Weiss, 1962; Schwartz & Masters, 1985). These theorists see the pedophile as immature and unable to form mature relationships with women, and as being fixated at a primitive level of development.

Groth's typology of the pedophile as either fixated or regressed is similar to the separation of the pedophiles into the inadequate-adult and the child-adult type, but there is a difference in the theoretical assumptions of the purpose of relating to a child: a sexual versus a non-sexual motivation. In the present theory, these two types differ in the degree of psychological maturation achieved, and differ in their expressed goals of what they desire primarily from interaction with the child. The inadequate-adult wants to be a man and is afraid of failure, and the child-adult wants to be accepted and is afraid of rejection. The division of pedophiles into primary and secondary pedophiles, as discussed earlier in the presentation of the theory, is not to be seen as a division into types. In this theory, these terms denote a difference in the level of development of the pedophile, and not a difference in type of pedophile.

The lack of maturation results from a number of

factors: a) the deficiencies of childhood, including the basic needs for safety, security, and belonging, b) the isolation from peers and a lack of play, which result in the failure of learning how to take risks and how to fail, and c) the strategy of holding back. Rather than development being the normal process of additive experiences, development is a subtractive process, a holding back from new experiences to prevent failure, and a continual narrowing of contexts of interaction.

In evaluating Groth's typologies from the perspective of the present theory, the fixated offender as a case of arrested development and the regressed offender as a case of regression following situational stressors, it is apparent that the pedophile is both fixated and regressed, in that he is developmentally delayed and that he is situationally stressed. Being immature he is less capable of responding in an adaptive way to stressful situations, and failures result in withdrawals. It is these very situations that the pedophile is unable to deal with, that result in failure for him, that move him from stage to stage progressively, first to become a pedophile, and then to remain a pedophile.

Deficiency motivation

The theory of pedophilia as Realizing a Self can be seen as an example of Maslow's deficiency motivation theory. The pedophile is characterized by deficiencies in his development in childhood (see Stage One), which motivate him to try and fill these gaps. The basic needs of Maslow's hierarchy were not met. These are the needs for safety, belongingness, love, respect, and self-esteem. There is a striking similarity between the language used by the pedophile in describing his experiences and Maslow's (1968) language in describing deficiency motivated people. For example, Maslow describes a sense of "yearning" and of "something missing" (p. 22), of being "a hole which has to be filled" (p. 41) as being characteristic of these people.

Maslow also noted that deficiency motivated people are context dependent, that the individual "is the dependent variable; the environment is the fixed, independent variable" (p. 34). This results in a dependence on other people for having one's needs met, and further, "the suppliers of the need are interchangeable, it doesn't matter who supplies it" (p. 36). As has been described earlier, the pedophile is also found to be context dependent, and his attraction is to children in general, rather than one child in

particular.

Further characteristics noted by Maslow which are similar to those found in the pedophiles in this study are stereotypical thinking and a state of fearfulness. Maslow explains deficient people's lack of growth as a need for safety and security, causing them to hold back, and to cling to safety and defensiveness. These behaviors were observed in this study as the strategy of holding back. Thus Maslow's theory of growth and development has much relevance to the present theory of pedophilia.

Limitations of the theory

A limitation of the present study, as it has been in other studies, is the absence of female pedophiles among the subjects. The core process of Realizing a Self is not gender specific, and might have relevance for females as well. The sub-core process of being a man would appear to be specific to males, although the converse, being a woman, might equally apply. However, in our culture being a woman is less linked to sexuality than it is for males, and thus it would appear to be unlikely. If this theory were to include females as well, future research with this approach would be required, and the particular processes involved would need to be subsumed under possibly more abstract

processes. One solution to this problem of becoming more and more abstract would be to first generate substantive theories of male and female pedophiles, as is the case in the present study of males, and then to move up a conceptual level to a formal theory of pedophilia, which would include both males and females.

A further limitation of this theory is that it is difficult to determine whether there is any difference between those pedophiles who were found out and sentenced to jail, the "failed" pedophiles, and those who remain in the community. This limitation is one of a lack of a secondary sample and is one that most studies have in common. Since failure is a large element of the theory and marks the transition from stage to stage, this is a potentially major confounding factor in the theory. If this is true, and failure is not a mark of the pedophile who never gets caught, then this would make the theory one of the failed pedophiles.

Another possible bias in the theory is the finding that men who are pedophiles put up a front which is designed to impress the audience. This front of competence, masculinity, and normality was in fact evident in the interviews, but was usually not sustained for the full time of the interview, ninety minutes, and in one case was not sustained over the second interview

held one month later. However, this putting up of a front is an inherent part of the process of being a pedophile, and therefore should not affect the findings.

Thus far the present theory of pedophilia has been discussed as a developmental process wherein the person attempts to gain a sense of self and has emphasized that this is a normal process. In this way it is an attempt to grow. At a more speculative level, this can be taken one step further, in which the pedophile is seen to be undertaking what Rogers (1967) has called self-actualization. Rogers believes that the urge to move towards psychological maturity is basic to human nature. He described the three necessary and sufficient conditions for growth, which are a) congruence, b) unconditional positive regard, and c) understanding. These are the three factors the pedophile is looking for in a relationship with a child.

Implications for therapy

Presently, therapy for the pedophile has focused on teaching the pedophile to control his sexually assaultive behavior. Groth (1983) describes the goals of treatment for the pedophile as achieving the following:

1. to recognize and acknowledge his problem
2. to accept responsibility for his actions

3. to reevaluate and change his attitude towards sexuality and aggression, and
4. to realize that his behavior is a compulsion that he must control.

Langevin and Lang (1985) describe the goals of therapy as a) admitting sexual preferences, b) seeing the child as victim, and c) overcoming rationalizations.

Based on the theory generated by this study, it is clear that therapeutic goals at present do not address the problems of the pedophile. These center around problems in identity, problems of gender, fears of failure and rejection, and the self-defeating strategy of holding back. These problems need to be included in a consideration of the goals of therapy for any treatment program.

A new finding of theoretical relevance is the proposition that the pedophile is context dependent, and defines himself in relation to contexts. This would suggest that treatment programs could use this knowledge to maximize the setting itself in order to further the goals of treatment. For example, although the presence of female staff members has been cited in the literature (Knopp, 1984) as being helpful in providing a realistic rather than a stereotypic view of women, the presence of male staff as role models was included in parentheses

only. Since the pedophile's problem is related to masculinity, and he feels inadequate compared to other men whom he sees in an idealized way, emphasis could be placed on the pedophile's learning to interact with male staff members rather than female staff members. This would require a willingness on the part of the staff member to disclose his own weaknesses and limitations.

A second finding of practical relevance is the pedophile's use of the strategies of holding back and putting up a front. Knowledge of these strategies will enable the therapist to assist the pedophile in his attempts to overcome his problems. For example, rather than confronting the pedophile on his denial, rationalizations, or lying, which are negative statements and serve to add to his feelings of inadequacy, he could be told that these are interaction strategies typical of people with his problems, and his own reasons for doing so could be explored.

Conclusion

This theory of pedophilia, which is grounded in and has emerged directly from the data, is based on a basic social psychological process, that of Realizing a Self, and is illustrated in Table V. This is the core around which the theory was integrated. By looking for process rather than traits, new connections of known facts were

Table V.

An overview of the BSPP Realizing a Self

Properties	Categories	Stages
Conditions:	1. gaps	I
	2. a context-dependent self	II
Goals:	1. wanting to be accepted	II
	2. wanting to be a man	II
Contexts:	1. the family	I, II
	2. being an adult	II
	3. being a man (social)	II
	4. the child	III
	5. gender	III
	6. being a man (sexual)	IV
Strategies:	1. holding back	All
	2. putting up a front	II-IV
Contingencies:	1. failure	I-III
	2. rejection	All
Consequences:	1. changing contexts	III, IV
	2. being a man	III, IV

developed, and new concepts were discovered. Although many of the individual elements in the theory are already known to researchers and theorists, they have generally not been placed within an organizing framework such as this theory, which lends a new perspective to those facts, and in some cases a new explanation.

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VITA

NAME: Virginia van Santen

PLACE OF BIRTH: Haarlem, the Netherlands

YEAR OF BIRTH: 1943

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION:

1983 M.A. Counselling Psychology, University of Victoria

1972 B.F.A. Visual Arts, University of Alberta

1969 B.A. English, University of Alberta

1964 R.N. Edmonton General Hospital School of Nursing

HONOURS AND AWARDS:

University of Victoria Fellowship 1982-83

University of Victoria President's Scholarship 1981-82

RELATED WORK EXPERIENCE:

1984 - Present: Nurse/Therapist, Alberta Hospital Edmonton, Sex Offender Treatment Program

1986 - Present: Therapist, Institute of Psychology and Law, Adolescent Offender Treatment Program, Adolescent Victim Treatment Program

PUBLICATIONS:

Caffaro-Rouget, A., Lang, R. A., & van Santen, V. (1989). The impact of child sexual abuse on victim's adjustment. Annals of Sex Research, 2, 29-47.

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